

MACLEAN'S

THE **INSIDE STORY** OF CANADA'S

NASTIEST CAMPAIGN

How Martin had it, lost it—then pulled it from the fire. BY PAUL WELLS



+ CANADIANS IN IRAQ—
serving in the U.S. Marines

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'Canadians should stop piously viewing their military as glorified Boy Scouts whose peacekeeping can be accomplished by flower power and love-ins.' —ALEXANDER MURRAY, Calgary

Health-care fix

I read with interest your article on "Health care that works" (Special Report, June 21). There were some good ideas that would improve health-care delivery. However, there are bigger issues we must solve before the quality of Canadian health care can improve substantially. We must first fund healthily living and disease prevention programs—too many people trust their health is a cavalier matter, knowing that when problems present themselves, the state will fix them at no cost. We must encourage more Canadians that smoking, the lack of physical and mental activity, overeating and a poor diet all contribute to the current crisis. We should also have a graduated user fee system to reduce the demands we place on our health care system. We must allow all Canadians to use public or private health-care alternatives, just as long as the billing is equal to current public fee schedules and paid by insurance. Finally, if the Canadian Health Care Act stands in the way of progress, then it needs to be revised or replaced.

SHAROLD TAYLOR, Aikenhead, B.C.

Selective memories

In Brian Mulroney's glowing tribute to Ronald Reagan ("A friend we loved" June 21), he lists some places where Reagan had an impact: "From Erin to Eureka, from Maryland to Madagascar, from Montreal to Monterey." Debatable poetic skills aside, one can't help but notice that Mulroney omitted an entire region full of countries that, yes, certainly were "transformed." I wonder how people feel about the Reagan-in-quest in Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Grenada. Isn't selective memory a wonderful thing?

PETER GLASCO, Mississauga, Ont.

Northern reflections

I knew about the sad state of affairs on my island home years ago, but reading Jonathan Gershenson's account brought fresh tears to my eyes ("Gone" down the road, "Ties Lost Years," June 14). Like many Newfoundlanders, I left my home (Savage Cove on the Great



'We must allow private health alternatives'

Northern Peninsula) shortly after high school for a post-secondary education in Stephenville. Eventually, I landed in Alberta. Then, I wanted to show my husband and two-year-old daughter where I grew up, and while my feet had not set foot on the landmass for more than a decade, just the smell of the salt air put me and them firmly on the ground. I had no idea how much I missed everything, from my mother's clothes on the line, to my father's Sunday dinners with puddings! I assure I was home if Outpost Newfoundland is to survive, there needs to be a mass effort to ouster its tourism, accommodation especially, can be the

Pride and pique | Please to see the positives along with the problems

Stuck in St. John's, Ont., residents reacted angrily to our story on this city's economic travails. "We live, as we've gone through tough times, good things happen to us too," wrote Lisa J. McMillan. "I thought journalists were about both sides of a story." One respondent, meanwhile, said that the go-go Newfoundlanders in Toronto to return to the Sea for its "lifestyle opportunities."

some Newfoundlanders recognize that we'll carry it to the next stage of its evolution.

KAREN PERKINS, Fort McMurray, Alta.

I am not a Newfoundlanders, but I fell in love with the Northern Peninsula during my first visit in 1994. In the 10 years since, I've been back four times, I'll be back again this summer. To be sure, the scenery is breathtaking, but it's the people that I go back to see—I have found them to be hard-working, self-reliant, proud, caring and friendly. I'm sorry to say that quite a few of us could learn a thing or two from the NPs'ers, and sorry to read that our modern world can find no place for the outposts where those values took root and grew.

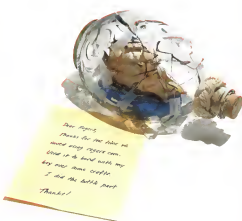
GEORGE SCHLICK, Beldersville, N.Y.

Some years ago, my wife and I motorcycled up the newly completed highway from Corner Brook to St. Anthony. While returning from a campground on a cold, late-August morning, we needed a coffee, so we pulled off onto the little village of Green Island Brook. In Noseworthy's small all-purpose grocery store mentioned in your article, we inquired about the brew. The young man polished to coffee on the shelf, and we said, "No, no, hot coffee!" Realizing how cold we were, he went to the phone. "Just go to that house across the street and knock on the door." His mother opened it and invited us in. A wood-burning stove gave some instant relief, and his father, Leander Noseworthy, offered us some scones. We declined. Mrs. Noseworthy put together a breakfast of home-made bread, eggs, jams and jellies, as well as hot tea and coffee. Just before departing, my wife took a photo of me with the Noseworthy family, which we used with Christmas greetings. We received a letter back thanking us for the last photo taken of Leander, as he had passed away in early autumn. The breakfast and visit with that generous family remains one of our favourite memories.

STEVE LIDDE, Elm, Ont.

In defence of war

My letter-writer Louise Whitaker, who says the full only "ignores, ignores and ignores" for victims of war, not inspiration ("Warriors," The Mail, June 21). It is easy to sound noble and self-righteous when others have suffered to offend such accusations. I am very inspired by people like my father-in-law,



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Keywords:

FUTURE WORK

Figure 4

† Potentially different fee and/or fee table required if the value and shifts listed are not in progress. Information regarding dependent on the type of system being installed. For optimal results, the system should be installed by a professional installer. © 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683,

UPFRONT

Passages 14: Mansbridge on the Record 14



Obit | The smouldering presence of Marlon Brando

Brando in 1950's The Wild One: What was this gang leader rebelling against? "Whaddya got?" was his reply.

daughter's suicide and a son's manslaughter: cowards. His last prison years were spent in his L.A. home with his fridge repeatedly locked so he wouldn't eat himself to death. But his performances—as such disparate films as *Last Tango in Paris* (1972) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979)—are legendary, and his maiming, outcast-style style influenced the generation of leading men that followed—men like Al Pacino, Robert De Niro and Jack Nicholson. Bresson wasn't just a "control freak." He was the chaos.

Quote of the week | 'I refuse to become involved in politics. I have much greater respect for organized crime.' **Guruvaram** THE AMAZING KRISHNAN, who predicted on

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March 1995, 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844

ScoreCard

MINORITY OF ONE: Surrounded by ideological foes, this far-right post-election Ottawa, No-not-Real Martin frontist waggling the dog belongs to Chuck Cudmore, heretofore independent and victims' rights champion from Surrey, B.C. Seeing woke can topple governments: meet PM's new best friend.

JOE CLARK. His disaster-prone spirit lives on Stephen Harper's future as Tory leader on the table despite solid result—not unlike second-round move Clark made on leader. Remains to be seen whether Paul Martin will echo Clark's dumber-than-governance if he leads the Liberals.

THE GROWALS
Tony power couple
Nene and Garret
via neighborhood
Newhouse-area
rallies, becoming first
wife and hubby MPs
Living partnership
grow from a tradi-
tional arranged mar-
riage—very explicit
minority Parliament
together. www.fox.com

FDA
U.S. drug administration approves use of blood-sucking leeches in medical treatment. No nitwits, you say? Actually, agency isn't referring to drug companies, it means real blood-sucking leeches.

WORLD

TALIBAN A beefed-up contingent totaling nearly 30,000 NATO soldiers will help safeguard Afghanistan's date with the pothole this fall. The new arrivals, led by the Netherlands, Germany and Britain, will augment the roughly 6,500 NATO soldiers already in the beleaguered country, a group that will include a reduced contingent of about 700 Canadian by the time of the elections in September at the earliest. The main force remains American, with about 20,000 U.S. troops chasing al Qaeda and Taliban remnants. NATO promised to extend peacekeeping outside Kabul after Taliban rebels—part of a new terror campaign—killed as many as 16 men who had registered to vote.



DANCING BABY

A new type of 3D ultrasound, perfected by London researcher Stuart Campbell, is coaxing baby dolls to rethink life in the womb. Among the findings at 13 weeks: babies yawn and walk. At 20 weeks they scratch, cry, and bleat. They even walk, something pediatricians thought was possible only weeks after birth.

ISRAEL About two dozen Israeli tanks rolled back into the Gaza Strip—the occupied territory that Israel wants to leave for good—after hostilities. Gaza-based militants killed two people in Israel, including a three-year-old boy at a daycare. At least one Palestinian militant was shot dead in the reprisal.

ISRAEL High Court ordered changes to the route of the country's controversial security wall, designed to keep out suicide bombers. It said current plans are causing too much disruption in lives of ordinary Palestinians on the West Bank.

LEIPZIG Marching legends from a far-off renaissance at the edge of Bamberg, India's largest city, killed 10 people last month, an unusually high number that included victims in suburbs bordering the park. Wildlife of feral muck-pigs and rabbits into the wooded area to try to survive the big cars.

DIPLOMACY After 24 years of mutual hatred, Washington buried the hatchet and established formal diplomatic relations with Libya—though it is still investigating allegations that strongman Muammar Gaddafi plotted to assassinate Saudi Arabia's crown prince a year ago.

With the world—China in particular—watching closely, nuclear-armed neighbors India and Pakistan resumed peace talks, pledging to immediately restore full consular relations and to find a solution to their long dispute over Kashmir.

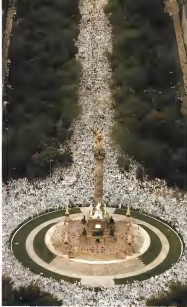
CUBA In an attempt to shore up Republican support among Cuban-Americans, the Bush administration tightened travel restrictions with Cuba. But the move seems to be backfiring in the politically sensitive state of Florida, where many senior exiles were angry by the move's rules on what they can send home to relatives.

MONGOLIAN UPSET To its utter surprise, Mongolia's ruling Communist party, which had 72 of the 76 seats in the Great Khural, appears to have lost its majority in general elections and, in an unusual twist, blamed the opposition for vote-rigging.

BUSINESS

SHIRKERS Bell Canada is offering early retirement to 4,500 employees and may extend the package to another 2,300—for a total of 15 per cent of its workforce.

In a family feud gone public, Molson Inc. parted company with up-and-coming deputy chairman Ian Molson, leaving in doubt the diversification strategy and family ownership of Canada's largest brewer.



ON THE MARCH

A crowd dressed almost entirely in white and estimated at near three quarters of a million people swarmed through the streets of Mexico City, demanding that authorities do something about rising homelessness, particularly for indigenous families that have become almost commonplace in Mexico.

RATES As predicted—though dipping in an election year—the U.S. Federal Reserve raised the key interest rate a quarter point to 5.25 per cent, its first increase in four years.

SILVER SCREEN Movie-going in Canada hit an all-time high last year as the toll of popcorn-popped entertainment. Attendance was up 5.4 per cent over two years, admission 14.9 per cent and industry revenues 21 per cent.

HEALTH | SCIENCE

CONCEPTION U.S. researchers suggested that women who consume a high protein, Atkins-like diet might have trouble conceiving. They based their findings on mice with a diet of 25 per cent protein.

MISCELLANEOUS In a medical first—a woman who had had one of her ovaries removed and then re-implanted

after cancer treatment became pregnant and is due to give birth in October. The procedure gives hope to thousands of cancer patients whose treatment can make them infertile.

MEDICARE In the first salvo of the upcoming health care debate, Alberta's Ralph Klein is proposing that Albertans pay a health deductible based on a percentage of taxable income—as well as co-insurance premiums. Klein also said he personally favors profit-based hip and knee replacement clinics but isn't putting that idea forward just yet.

CANADA

SHIPWRECKS In a rescue search, customs agents in Sydney, N.S., found 83 kg of cocaine that divers apparently retrieved to the hull of a Canadian Steamship Lines cargo ship during a storm in Venezuela. CIL is now owned by the sons of Frank Miller Paul Martin, the ship was named after his wife, Sybil Ann.

AUTO INSURANCE New Brunswick Premier Bernard Lord closed the door on public auto insurance for his province, ignoring the proposal of a legislative committee. Instead, he will force insurance companies to offer co-operative, no-fault options and tighten regulations to try to bring down rates.

TODD BUS Vancouver police named up trace amounts of a potentially lethal chemical, methyl chloroform, on a suburban bus that was the subject of a terror scare in May. Nine people were taken to hospital, but the Vancouver medical officer suggested the incident was a case of mass hysteria. Police are looking for a young man with a possible motive, someone who left the bus after telling the driver the day was about to go wrong.

THE ARROW Two easy wayside jobs with drivers and tour operators are set to lift the site of Lake Ontario in search of the next safe model of the Arrow, a project for the Canadian flag that has become a national legend after it was scrapped by the federal government in 1993. An archaeological adventure in its day, the Arrow project opened a window of nearly 14,000 on green and technocrats before it was finally shut down.

BY PETER LAMONTAGNE



Mansbridge on the Record



NOW FOR THE HARD PART

From picking a cabinet to delivering on promises, the PM's work is cut out for him

POOR PAUL MARTIN: His summer is now short. At least if he'll live, he could have enjoyed July and August doing the things that are more welcome at this time of year like golf. As someone who has witnessed the Prime Minister's game (at least the dainty fondlesing "scrutable" version), I can tell you that he has no competitive. He whisks that little ball pretty well, long for sure although not always straight. Typical Liberal analyst he's off to the left on one side, off to the right on the next. But you can tell he loves the game, he's very competitive, and he clearly cherishes the moments when he gets to play.

Those times could be few and far between in the next few months. The first order of business is to build a cabinet from a list of business as usual Liberal options. Some members have lost their jobs, others who were as likely to be jettisoned to make room for new faces. Martin has made it clear this new team has to be able to govern around the tricky stages of a minority, fully aware that the last group wasn't even able to govern through the relatively easy terrain of a majority. The Prime Minister will have to be tough when he chooses, remembering that he has to rebuild a party and split by the time leadership division of the past few years.

And before his new ministers have been assigned their lines, he'll have to focus on the upcoming health-care bill. After a campaign spent promising shorter waiting times, it's time to deliver a deal with the provinces that leads to that end. Anything less will make it seem as if his new government is stuffing behind its ears.

"The vote has raised other questions as well. Take the issue of the media, and its controversial polls and seat projections."

them, with last summer golf-fondlesing, the next task will be locating a Speech from the Throne that promises the kind of change Canadians voted for.

But the vote has raised questions for more than just Liberals. Leaders of the other parties also have decisions to make. And that's the media, and the controversial use of polls and seat projections. In spite of the verbal gymnastics some politicians are now performing in defence of their recent campaign misdeeds, this has not been a year in which these in the polling game have disengaged themselves. The most obvious divorce there was a massive swing change in the final hours of the campaign that they could not catch.

Increasing, but consider that two weeks before election night, when there was much talk about media financial polling, members that showed an increasing move toward Stephen Harper, the Liberals offered up their own data saying the race was in fact tipping in their favour. They were painted as party leaders looking desperate. In the final week, Liberal strategists who were working the phones claimed the media polls were wrong, and again offered numbers that showed their party moving up on Ontario and B.C., and coming back strongly in their traditional support areas in Quebec. Other moves, they were painted as dubious spinners.

I'm not saying the Liberals went right and everyone else was wrong—I don't know the inner workings of all the polling houses well enough to make that judgment. But I can say that while people have looked back. While there is any business left to criticize others about their performance, it may be time that we take a collective look at how we're handling this race ourselves. ■

Paul Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent at CBC Television News and Anchor of *The National*. To comment: letters@national.ca

Passages

CONVICTED Darlene Heatherton, the 41-year-old Lehigh councilor who had police in Montana and Alberta on a merry chase a year ago when she claimed to have been kidnapped and



usually assumed, was found guilty of public mischief. American authorities dropped charges against the mother of three after she underwent counselling. But an Alberta judge ruled the fabricated a smaller and wrote dirty letters to herself to justify the three-day disappearance. He will sentence her on Sept. 10.

WATCHED Parti Québécois leader Bernard Landry, 57, tied the knot with companion Chantal Renaud, 35, a former entrepreneur. Landry has been widowed for five years.

OUTSIDER Julian Parrott, 62, through with long controversial Toronto police chief, is being forced to resign as mayor. He had asked to have his five-year contract extended.

DEED Archbishop Desmond, a self-offering (they had to) to South Africans and an ardent foe of South African apartheid, was killed in a car accident June 21 near Party Square. One life was 85 Scottish province of the Anglican Church in Canada from 1971 until his retirement in 1986, opening us down to international causes and the ordination of women.



FREED Rodney Cain, a 45-year-old Halifax man, was out of jail after nearly two decades in prison. Darius ordered a new trial after witnesses contradicted Cain's story that he acted in self defence when he killed a man outside a Toronto nightclub in 1983.

DEED Canadian fighter pilot Capt. Derek Nichols, 34, of Trenton, N.S., died in a crash while on a training exercise with the U.S. military in South Carolina. He was flying a Marine Corps jet.



U.S. soldiers guard the body of a Canadian soldier who was killed near Baghdad.

some members of the opposition and to secure independent reports. The fact that they tried to put me in a position where I was supposed to be a partisan was a disgrace. The prime minister has been his personal popularity plummeted in a survey last week. The poll found 34 per cent of respondents now don't trust him "in his own right," while his Labour government is included in official polls. A Windsorian let me know a letter was sent to me of Congress, but only found anger back home.

Richard Bennett, a newspaper at the University of Toronto, says that some problems appear deeper than that. Because of widespread distrust in the way the way the government operates, "Liberals have to be very careful in winning support, but the public is not going to be too far from the truth." Bennett says the way the way the government operates, "Liberals have to be very careful in winning support, but the public is not going to be too far from the truth."

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ROGERS



Paul Martin had it, lost it—then got down-and-dirty. It didn't help Stephen Harper that his own people kept shooting him in the foot.

BY PAUL WELLS

THE INSIDE STORY OF CANADA'S NASTIEST CAMPAIGN



MEDIA POLLING STOPS is a campaign's last days. So nobody saw the mood of the electorate turn until the election results came in.

Well, almost nobody.

As the campaign entered its final weekend, Stephen Harper picked up the phone and made some calls. The Conservative leader knew his own counsel and trusted his own instincts most, but he is not quite as introverted as he seems. He has built a network of

advisers and learned to work the phone.

Now, according to the recipients of a call, who spoke on condition of anonymity, Harper confided he could feel the election slipping away. Harper was "very sanguine about the outcome," his interlocutor says. He might win, Harper said, or maybe not. But if one thing was clear the election for him, "it's the winning streak that I've had to sustain from my own troops."

Paul Martin's Liberal campaign, almost devoid of any prizes, the average Canadian voter could identify, was based on warning that Conservatives couldn't be trusted. And

no many Conservative candidates were acting as though they couldn't be trusted. Early in the campaign, Scott Reid had no doubt on Conservative support for bilingualism. Cheryl Galka had compared abortion to beheading. Now an old interview had surfaced showing Randy White expressing disdain for the courts' interpretation of gay rights. And Alberta Premier Ralph Klein couldn't seem to settle his musing about controversial the Canada Health Act.

It was all starting to add up. And so Harper seemed almost to

disengage from the election, asking a television cameraman fully 48 hours before election day whether he was "glad it's over." Martin added a crucial reinforcement to his push. He had warned Conservative-leaning voters against voting for Harper. Now he warned NDP supporters against supporting Liberals.

The NDP was wary of strategic voting. They cranked it every night of the campaign, asking Canadians whether they favoured the NDP but were thinking of voting for someone else. For eight straight days at the end of the campaign, the numbers went down. Then, on June 16, the NDP stopped

polling—two days before the vote. It turned out to be a little too soon. "The Liberal surge was literally overnight," Jeremy (Iron), Jack Layton's closest adviser, said after the election. "They were

Harper stuck
stubbornly to a
simple script about
Liberal corruption

pouring home the message in full-page ads, leaflets, blimps, radio ads."

New Democrats showing up at campaign events in Whitby, Ont., were greeted by strangers dressed as Mar, handing out pamphlets that depicted Layton as a "Harper Hapner." Full-page ads in *Statian* showed papers, where New Democrats Lorne Nystrom and Dick Proctor were hanging on by their teeth, warned voters they might as well vote Tory as New Democrat. In the end, Nystrom and Proctor lost. To Conservatives.

Puffing the race and compressing the NDP was an classic Liberal tactic, but Martin and his team pursued it with unbridled zeal. On June 22, at the B.C. campaign office of Dave Haggard, a senior official and appointed vice Liberal candidate, Martin took over the phone. "If you are thinking of voting NDP, I ask you to think about the replacement of your vote. In a race as close as this, you may well help Stephen Harper become prime minister."

In yet another twist, Haggard's New Westminster-Canadian riding decided to a Conservative, Paul Penick. The NDP was only 114 votes behind. Haggard finished well

HARPER seemed almost to disengage, asking a TV cameraman 48 hours before the vote if he was "glad it's over."

back. If Martin had urged New Westminster-Canadian residents to vote their conscience, there'd probably be one less Tory going to Parliament. But no matter. Especially as Ontarians, home to more than a third of federal seats, the NDP and Conservative vote faded to the arid. Paul Martin won his 115 seats but his within a surprising distance of a 150-seat majority, and those who predicted worse for him, like this writer, have been wrong on a row.

Perhaps it won't be too self-serving to recall how much more Martin's time once looked. And to trace his descent from unlimited possibility to the point where asks a last minute lift and the misadventure of his principal opponent kept him from losing the job he had coveted for so long.

FLASH BACK 10 months to Labour Day weekend, 2003. Paul Desmarais, the long

gun behind Martin's Power Corp., was having a little heartwarming party at his 10,000-sq-ft Toronto home in Sagard, in Quebec's Charlevoix region. The guest list was reported to include Jean Chrétien, Bill Clinton, Lucien Bouchard, Sarah Ferguson. Paul Martin was the process of wrapping up delegate selection for the November leadership convention. Among his 50 or so key opinion pollsters was an impressive list with the U.S. He spent part of the weekend at Sagard in a golf foursome with Brian Mulroney, Paul Desmarais Jr. and Martin's carefully select of golfing partner, George Rodin.

At one point, according to an observer, Martin told the foursome that his camp's polls were projecting he would win 220 seats in a 308-seat Parliament. It would give him one of the largest majorities in Canadian history. The offers were not particularly shocked. The golf game proceeded as usual. Martin's producer on matched the conventional wisdom at the time.

If there was any noble ruse for trying Jean Chrétien's flag from the levers of power than Paul's Tantalus Warning, it was that Chrétien's governing coalition was too much to be durable. The only deal pay was said to have written Liberal fortunes off in important parts of the country, principally the West and about half of Quebec. No problem—unless Canadians in the Chrétien fortresses of Ontario, Montreal and Atlantic Canada started turning against the Liberals.

This was the central theme of the Martin camp, especially his advisers John Wehner, David Heale and John Duffy. A bigger twist was needed to shelter the Grins against a "wave of change." As Susan Delaney reports in her book *Juggernaut*, Heale made precisely this argument to a group of pro-Martin MPs gathered at the Royal Connaught Hotel in the Toronto airport hotel stop for back in March 2000.

Canadians were displaying a tendency to vote against incumbent governments, Heale told the assembled MPs. The subtle scandal at Harman Resources was a "major" issue that could sour Canadians on the Grins. The Liberals might weather the storm with Martin at the helm—he was, after all, uniquely attractive to soft Quebec nationalists and alienated westerners. Chrétien, of course, was too thick to understand all of this. "Only the [Liberal] head of losing the majority," Heale intoned, "will make [Chrétien] nervous."

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his existence on keeping the leadership.

Word of the meeting leaked out. Chrétien seemed a coup plot. He clung all the more tightly to the leadership and led the party, later that year, to an increased majority. Unopposed, the Martin team packed Harkin's supporters away for a brighter day.

By mid-2003, the Harkin-Duffy-Witmer arguments—were of change, broaden the

university now applies a branch of economics (John Nash, the hero of the movie *A Beautiful Mind*, won a Nobel Prize for his contribution to game theory) to real-life Canadian political cases.

Game theory assumes the "actor" under study—a customer, a prisoner facing punishment, a political party, an economist—will seek to maximize his advantage by cal-

culating within one or two subsequent elections." While he cautions that "there is no ironlaw," he found "some tendency for larger-than-necessary coalitions to disintegrate."

In November 2000, Paul Martin took control of a pretty big Liberal majority and set to work making it bigger. Canada freed no depression and no war. Martin wanted to grow his seat into red-neck Alberta and the most national-consort of francophone Quebec. Flanagan could have told Martin how perilously rocky that coalition was. But

hang together, because Martin would as surely hang them separately.

"You know the old notion," Segal said in late June when I mentioned him of that. "A goliath in the morning becomes the meek. The notion of Martin sweeping up a lot of middle-right voters was so compelling that unless the two parties got together to offer a coherent alternative, we were cooked."

Others were wary ahead of Segal. As early as May 2003, Brian Mulroney told Progressive Conservatives in the throes of a

Despite Martin's long years of preparation for the job, the government's early months were chaotic. One chief of staff to a Martin minister says it took calls to the Prime Minister's Office to get any notion of a promise. Martin had made in his Thomas Speech. Another recalls a parody call from the name PMO: "We need to announce something. What have you got?"

The basic problems, according to John Godfrey, Liberal MP for Don Valley West, was that nobody in the Martin entourage ever

that you're an agent of change?" Harkin told Don Newman CBC. Newman lived days after Fraser's death was released. "He's the perfect kind of sense on which to say 'Here is something that happened in a previous government—under a different administration—and is soon as it's come out, here's the actions I've taken.' To me that is an agent of change."

Change! When Chrétien lay down to grovel that Martin seemed more on turning their man and firing his lieutenant,



Harper complained about "insulting attacks" in his own right. After the election, he benefited from the Liberals not sharing up their base.



Thinking they were safe, Liberal's New Democrats stopped backing it in the election—just before the last Liberal Liberal vote.



ties—had convinced Liberals and forced Chrétien to announce his retirement. Debate revolved around the use of a Martin majority—intense, or merely huge? How could the Martin government be too much from two sets of problems: unmanageability and a reinvigorated national opposition.

One person who probably did was Tom Flanagan.

FLANAGAN is the soft-spoken campaign director to Stephen Harper, and he will be grateful if I tell you right away that he did not consent to be interviewed for this story. The University of Calgary professor lives to challenge in a series of inaccessibility.

But like most academics, Flanagan writes. With the benefit of hindsight, one of his most obscure books seems prescient: It's called *Game Theory and Canadian Politics*. Published in 1998, this introductory

calculating the costs and benefits of possible actions. One tenet of game theory is the notion of the "minimum winning coalition"—that it's better if fewer actors share a prize than if more do, because the payoff for each player is bigger and because it's easier to hold a small coalition intact. Say either three players can share a one-dollar prize, or two can. Well, you'd really rather be in a two-player coalition: you can win 50 cents instead of 33, and you don't have to lose to the third guy winning all the time.

Flanagan showed that this is true in Canadian election politics, too. Governing majorities that greatly exceed half the seats in the Commonsense. They're likely to form out of a serious crisis like a war or depression. And, prone to squabbling, they tend to fall apart very quickly indeed. "Of the five largest parliamentary majorities in Canadian history," Flanagan writes, "two fell upon special

times, Flanagan doesn't grant ourselves. Martin cannot be blamed if he drowned big for his own party, but perhaps he can be blamed for giving his opponents such a big target. Like the reflexive sense of British colonial days, the Martin Liberals were so bright and so slow-moving their enemies saw them coming and got impatient.

High Segal in a veteran Progressive Conservative strategist whose 1998 book *Beyond Great* argued, essentially, that the Reform party was an economic case that must be kept away from the good china. So I was pretty surprised when I joined him for a beer in Montreal last September and he launched into a monologue about the necessity of getting the Canadian Alliance and Progressive Conservative parties together. Martin's desire for an early spring election was Ottawa's most open secret. Segal's new thesis was that the two conservative parties had better

leadership now (that they should "turn the page" on old friends and the "open and strong" in the search for "potential allies"). That race seemed to end badly, with Peter Mackay promising David Orchard in writing that he would not discuss merger with the Alliance. But Harper can't deny of freed PCs a choice an alliance with the new free trade crusader Orchard, or an alliance with the Alliance. By the time Martin's government was sworn in on Dec. 12, a new coalition was forming to fight his own.

FOR ALL OF THAT, Martin's early wounds in prime minister were inflicted not by the newly coherent Conservatives, but by himself. His soaring hopes of revolutionary change confronted steadily with his stubbornly proven administration. His big set back followed with his apparent desire for Liberals who had been too close to Chrétien.

though they'd actually have to go down by five or six votes. The first Martin government was an unimpressive, unimpressive effort; there'd be a massive retreat onto Martin had put the small matter of an election behind him. "We were trying to show a new face and a new instance of government—but nobody ever thought it was going to be the final firm," Godfrey said during the campaign. "So it was built for the short haul, not for the long haul."

And then the, er, haul happened. In February, Auditor General Sheila Fraser brought down her catastrophic audit of the Chrétien government's sponsorship program in Quebec. Strategists will be debating Martin's response to this so-called Advertiser's scandal. What's surprising is that, at first, some saw the audit as a golden opportunity to distance Martin from Chrétien. "He's the perfect opportunity to demonstrate

Martin's leadership responded that the Liberal party could either own change or be burned by it. John Duffy, the Martin campaign's house historian, says an on-air piece to the *Globe and Mail*: "Liberals in the past couple of years have been understandably nervous at the prospect of changing a fourth coalition in the face of a wave of political change that has now deflated five provincial governments from B.C. to Newfoundland and Labrador." When choosing between respect for only Chrétien's habits and change that risked turning a loose of point, Martin must "sit" toward change, Duffy wrote.

The polls were a disaster. The Liberals' mood was fractious. Martin put off an election as long as he could, but with a barely functioning government and a large number of Liberal MPs ready to resign, he would have had a very difficult time delaying until autumn or later. "There's this of The Gaur



if August," Godfrey said. "The trains are starting to roll toward the front, and at a certain moment there's no calling them back. You have to open your own campaign office and become part of the problem."

ON MAY 23, Martin called his decision. He could have looked more nervous at Rideau Hall, announcing the date of the vote, to mark the three times. Three days earlier in Montreal, he had accepted the nomination as candidate for Lafontaine with a similar display of nerves. "Compared to Mike Harris, Stephen Harper is a madman," he said in French, before coming himself. "Oh no. It's the other way around."

But soon enough the Martin Liberals got their candidates straight. It was no great challenge: they were simple lines. Harper, the stocky west, was an unrepentant conservative who could not be trusted on social issues, bilingualism or economic management. The Liberal ad campaign told newspaper readers the election was about "which Canada" they would choose. Cabinet ministers with higher than average credibility were promoted to reinforce the Tories. John McCallum, a former bank economist, took shots at Harper's tax-cut plan. Ivo Cabot, a screaming civil-rights lawyer turned justice

IT'S NOT THAT EASY BEING GREEN

Martin has a point. If Canada had proportional representation, the Green party's 4.3 per cent of the popular vote would have translated into a dozen MPs instead of a big loss. The NDP would have gotten a big boost, too. Now would the House look it, as NDP leader Jack Layton advocates, seems were allocated based on each party's popular vote, rather than the existing first-past-the-post system?

Party	Current seats	Proportional seats
Liberal	135	116
Conservative	59	52
Bloc	34	37
NDP	19	49
Green	6	12
Independent	1	2

SOURCE: CREST CONSULTING, BASED ON 2003 ELECTION RESULTS. BASED ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. TOTAL SEATS IN PARLIAMENT: 308. REPRESENTATION: 308 SEATS IN PARLIAMENT.

minister, criticized Harper's faith in the Charter of Rights.

Martin dove into this critique with an inevitable grace. He showed only fatal flaws in his own program and his party's

record. Hours after Martin released his platform in his hometown of Windsor, Ont., near the end of the campaign's second week, he appeared again in front of reporters in Montreal to warn that Harper couldn't be trusted to protect a woman's right to choose an abortion. It was an extraordinary spectacle: a party leader chasing his own platform off the top of the news.

But then, there was a lot that going around. Harper released his own platform on a Saturday. Christen's staff used to have a rule: when your opponent is beating himself up, don't help. For half the campaign it was Harper's central theme. He kept his appearance to a bare minimum, and stuck stubbornly to a simple script about Liberal "mismanagement and corruption."

On the ground, Liberal candidates were getting gunned down. It was worse in Ontario, where Premier Dalton McGuinty released a tax-cutting budget on the eve of the campaign. In Burlington, Liberal incumbent Buddy Tonerrey had to start each morning waving at cars. "The first week was brutal with the Dalton stuff," she said. "People were very angry. I got more [middle] fingers than I needed so, the first morning's morning."

Independently and across the country, Liberals made a spontaneous decision: if Martin wasn't going to emphasize the Liberals' record, they would. "Change" would mean them losing their seats. They campaigned



Jack Layton

Just adding the Christen legacy, Martin opponents miss Liberal votes

of flag. And crucially, Conservatives kept asking the way Martin wanted they would. In an Ottawa call, days before the vote, Doane Flanagan paused to ponder the other parties. Flanagan used to work for Gary Doer in Manitoba before becoming Layton's chief of staff. "Until that past weekend [the second list of the campaign] the Conservatives were running it textbook—and then they f—ed up," Flanagan said, pointing to the attempt to paint Martin as being lenient on child pornography. "I think child porn crystallized the fear that was always there but never had traction," he said.

In Montreal, Ray Alencar took a break from door-knocking to take a call from an airport. "I tell you, that element of fear has entered the conversation the last two or three days," the busy Montreal-based member said. "I'm afraid of this guy...you know, that kind of stuff." A week later, the result came in.

The Conservative vote, and especially the NDP vote, were lower than expected. The Liberal vote came in higher. Martin's grand coalition was not to be, but he had had to fight another day.

MERGERS AND WATCHDOGS

ON THE SURFACE, it appeared the business world was left unsettled by last week's election results. The stock market responded almost instantly as it hammered along on a couldn't-care-less, steady-as-she-goes line. The Reserve even initially warmed to the Liberal minority win, and now a few points before sliding back to its pre-election level around 5134 cents. The reason for the indifference? With Paul Martin as PM, fiscal policy is expected to continue promoting business, if not surplus, budgets, a path favourable to the business climate. But while the street in it only welcomed predictability, some business leaders now fear stasis.

Prey, for instance, the poor bankers. Ever since 1995, when fear of Canada's big largest banks was thwarted by Ottawa in their attempts to become two, they've all yearned

at one point or another to jump aboard the merger bandwagon and ride the globe. Yet each time a new set of articles got serious, the bankers' efforts were pushed aside by political interests, mainly those of Jean Chrétien. So, as then-candidate minister of finance, Canada's bankers waited for new merger rules, for Chrétien to leave, and then for Martin to call an election. Now, they're keen to coil their heads some more. With a shaky hold on power, Martin can likely be back at a potentially unpopular bank merger proposal. The bankers don't know whether to give up on domestic mergers altogether, says one senior banking official. While they've all accumulated pots of money with an eye to acquiring each other, they are beginning to think that perhaps those funds would be better spent outside Canada. "This sitting on the fence is the worst thing," he added.

Bank mergers aren't the only business issue that will be reshaped by minority government. Also reimagined to its stakeholders will be the path to create a single national securities regulator. An idea that picked up speed last winter, the proposal would replace the current cumbersome network of securities watchdogs in each province and territory. Quebec has never accepted this deal, even with the Bloc's 54-seat victory in the province. Martin likely won't want to broach the subject until, despite past lobbying work that has apparently already swayed his people.

Ottawa's planned side of the \$1-billion stake in Petro-Canada, a move welcomed by the oil patch, has also become iffy. The NDP, says Jack Layton, may want to block a federal deal. Martin might have to decide whether a better outcome to the West's oil interests—or keeping Layton offside

KATHERINE MACLEIM

on continuity. Tonerrey's Web site sounded a slogan: "Keep good things going." Should that have been the party's message from the beginning? "Yeah," she said.

In Quebec, Martin had imposed radical change on his party. It wasn't helping. Jean Lapierre, a Bloc Quebecois co-founder who returned to the Liberals as Martin's hand-picked lieutenant in the province, wanted to broaden the party by reaching out to his longtime nationalist base. Instead, he became one-stop shopping for gaffes that made him less than credible among nationalists. And what Martin and Lapierre didn't seem to understand was the latter's presence was deeply offensive to many Quebec federalists—the core of Liberal support in the province. Being a federalist in Quebec in the early '90s meant believing in Canada when believing in Canada wasn't fun or popular or easy. Lapierre would embrace a Liberal party that had broken faith with its hardest-core soliders.

In the campaign's last weeks, Senator David

Berli's lamented that the party hadn't worked harder to shore up its federalist base before taking a flyer on people who almost never voted Liberal. Christen's appointment as a Quebecer and then Prime Minister were more prominent in the campaign's last days, but Smith worried that it was perilously late.

"The fact that they were Christian federalists is a historical and should be central," he said. "When someone is, they're federalist. If we could get out our traditional feel and vote in Quebec, we're going to do better than if we don't get them out. And I think there's been a recognition of this."

Smith, who has worked closely with every Liberal leader since Lester Pearson, sighed. "But it's a little late."

AT MID-CAMPAIGN, a many list of gaffes had begun circling among Christian people in Ottawa. Martin's fate would depend on the campaign's outcome. "There's three names," one layman said. "A Green Zone, a Grey Area and a Go Zone." If he got 134 to 135 seats, he could keep the leadership, the party will only and we'll try to win a major city later. At about 125, that's the Grey Area. What are we going to do? Hard to say. And if he got about 115, that's the Go Zone. There'd be calls for him to be the honorable thing."

Martin won 125. He made it to the Green Zone. He did it by reasserting huge elements of the Chrétien legacy and appealing to the core Liberal values that no Liberal leader could afford to ignore. He showed his talk of change—was there a single ruler who believed he would find health care for a generation?—and took a last-minute turn at self-dramatizing Conservatives. And on election night, of 174 MPs from all parties who sought re-election outside Quebec under the banner of the major parties, 154 were re-elected. That's an 89 per cent re-election rate.

Change too on June 28. We Paul Martin managed to win 125 facing the way that works out.



HIGH-WIRE POLITICS

Minority governments require a fine balancing act, but that's not necessarily a prescription for caution. JOHN GEDDES reports on the struggles ahead.

HISTORY SHADOWS

Paul Martin like so other Canadian politicians. He's acutely conscious of carrying the famous name of his late father, a focus in Liberal cabinets from 1945 to 1974—including Prime Minister Lester Pearson's during two consecutive minority governments in the 1960s. So as Martin begins to plot course for his own minority, the lessons of his father's generation are once again echoing for him. "There are histories of minority governments that have been able to do great things," he muses last week in his first news conference after the June 28 election, citing Pearson's as an obvious example. Among its lasting achievements: introducing the Canada Pension Plan in 1965 and national medicare in 1966. But history also reminds that Pearson's second minority term deteriorated into a chaotic after-math by its second anniversary.

Clearly, Martin will strive to keep things from coming to that. He will try to make his minority work as well as Pearson's did early on, but also use the Liberals' up for a return to majority rule in the next election. The opposition parties face a quite different challenge: to operate just enough with Martin to look respectable, without allowing him enough success to rebound. That all this sounds like a prescription for caution, history suggests otherwise. "Minority governments tend to be aggressive rather than hesitant," says University of Waterloo history professor and Pearson biographer John English, who is also a former Liberal MP.

Unsure how long their power will last, minorities often try to introduce a few policies. "I think this will be especially true if



Martin is likely to proceed with the health file and a daycare proposal.

Martin, who will strive to make his mark," English says. If Martin has his way, that mark will be made through multi-billion dollar initiatives in health and daycare—the two big campaign policy thrusts. In theory, unless, then, someone is shouldn't be able to get enough opposition support to move forward on either file. The Conservatives also favour a big injection of new health funding to the provinces, though they might balk—along with the Bloc Québécois—at the Liberal preference for Ottawa to galvanize power to push provinces to hit specific targets, especially on shortening waiting times for treatment. On the Liberal idea of a national subsidized daycare program modelled on Quebec's, the NDP and the Bloc are expected to be broadly supportive, the

Conservatives deeply skeptical.

The distribution of seats in the House—135 Liberals, 99 Conservatives, 54 Bloc, 39 NDP and one independent—suggests voting coalitions will shift depending on the issue. But not by gradients are equal in the minority risk. NDP leader Jack Layton finds himself agonizingly close to real balance-of-power status if his party had won a single riding more; he would have had enough MPs to team up with the Liberals to hit that magic majority number of 155. Instead, Martin will need to court the support of either the Conservatives or the Bloc, or some ad hoc combination of MPs cross-voting party lines, to pass any legislation. The emphasis on bringing down the government is risky, assuming that the Speaker, who only votes



History shadows the Prime Minister: his father served as a speaker of Pearson's own minority governments.

in the case of a tie, a decision from Liberal or NDP MPs, then the Tories and Bloc together have just enough MPs to force an election—if they vote in unison with moderates. Otherwise, it will likely take some combination of MPs from all three opposition parties to force an election—surely, at some time, the Liberals decide they are ready to face Canadian voters again.

If the opposition parties join together to defeat the government, it must be over an issue serious enough to provoke an election. "Ironically, the Tories' dilemma is that because their polling numbers look good, they know the public will punish them," says Stuart Smith, who was the opposition Liberal leader in Ontario legislatures when Premier Bill Davis presided over back-to-back minorities in the 1970s. "The fear of angering voters by dragging them to the ballot box on flimsy grounds, together with the fear of a split in the House, could mean Martin's minority will last longer than the year or two early observers have suggested. 'The managers' might, in this case, go on for four years," guesses Smith, now a Toronto businessman and public policy consultant.

That prospect of a stable minority raises the question of how the Bloc will position itself. As a secessionist leader, Gilles Duceppe would make an unappealing partner in co-operating to pass legislation for all of Canada over an extended period. Yet he would at his own conference take the federal election as an opportunity to rebuke the federal "Tories." Stop by stop, we'll see what happens," Duceppe said cautiously. After his solid performance in the leaders' debates, Duceppe's credibility—even outside of Quebec—is higher than anyone could have anticipated. Still, in the hands of a party devoted to persuading Quebec that Canada doesn't work for them, his motives will remain suspect. "The Bloc would be best served if Parliament were to become dysfunctional, no matter what they are saying," contends Government House Leader Jacques St-John, one of 21 Liberal MPs in Quebec who managed to win their ridings.

Harper has the most to lose if Martin's minority ends up surviving long and looking effective. Yet Harper, too, has reasons for wanting to display at least some co-operative spirit in the House. Formed just last year by the surprise merger of the Canadian



Harper has the most to lose if the government is not as effective as expected.

Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives, new Conservatives need to prove they are capable of contributing to the national stage—and not just being branded as merely the latest version of the western protest movement that forms a big part of their roots. Also, as strategists in every party agree, the election is simply won't be won as sole politicians out-campaigning a team. "I think this Parliament will work because the people are going to want us to work together," says British Columbia MP Josée Reynolds, the Conservative MP who led Reynolds is the sort of MP who could rise

to particular prominence in the minority environment. As Harper's point man on Commonsense strategy, and his liaison with the other parties, Reynolds will have the critical job of forging out his message despite the presence of votes, debates and House committee work. As for St-John, whether he keeps his job remains to be seen. Martin is contemplating how to rebuild his cabinet, and could name a new one within the next two weeks. So the 38 MPs ministers lost their seats on June 28, and a seventh, Social Democratic Minister Louis Brien, faces a re-election after dropping to the bottom of riding by a mere 35 votes. Because the new cabinet will have to open its ranks immediately with the other parties, negotiators capable of forging working relationships across the Commonsense divide may have three shades of tougher riding parties.

The rest of politics in a minority period tends to take a turn toward the diplomatic. "The atmosphere is I don't want to say collegial because that's not exactly it, but more respectful," says Gordon Ashworth, who was executive director in the office of

short Ontario premier David Peterson when he headed first a Liberal minority and then a majority in the late 1980s. Ashworth said that during the minority, key Parliamentarians, especially Robert Noon and the late Ian Scott, relied on social relationships to keep the peace with the opposition. "It was a matter of sitting down and chatting, sometimes over long dinners, and making things happen," Ashworth recalls, adding that the threat of informal coercion is hard for a premier or prime minister to cultivate directly.

In fact, the ability of the leaders' offices to appoint firm counsel in Ottawa over the coming months, and perhaps years, could be sorely tested. But before the election, chairs for more than a dozen MPs was managed without less than a dozen support from Martin, Harper, Layton and Duceppe. Now, backbench MPs inclined to the left must know that by forging alliances that erode party lines, they may be able to have their way as easily before. One sign that times are changing: lobbyists who usually concentrate on convincing cabinet ministers are devising strategies for influencing backbenchers and the opposition. "Minority gives us a chance to build alliances around issues that might not otherwise be on the radar screen," says Michael Atkinson, president of the Canadian Construction Association.

Reynolds and others say ordinary MPs will have their best chance to increase their influence in House committees. And St-John will, for one, see an increase of going through committees more formal power, including drafting new laws in some cases, instead of just reviewing legislation sent to them by cabinet ministers. But even the without party veterans aren't sure quite what to expect since ordinary MPs aren't becoming more independent. Old stories about past minorities are getting dusted off those days in Ottawa, but history seems to suggest that to Parliament 101 new game. To a large extent, the politicians will be making up the rules as they go along.

CORRECTION

Because of an editing error, a reference in Mary Janigan's July 1 column was altered to imply that equality rights are included among the fundamental freedoms in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. But it is not the case: equality rights contribute a separate section of the Charter. Martin's regrets this mix-up.

Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



THE COST OF SUCCESS

Martin's toxic campaign will be his burden as he walks into a poisonous Parliament

IN THE EARLY DAYS of this unsettling campaign, a senior PMO policy wonk, poring over the Tory platform, remarked to Gail Anagnostis about similarity to their own opposition. His remark at that informal Ottawa meeting was puzzled but accurate: The Conservatives, they concluded, were so intellectually bankrupt that they were pilfering Liberal ideas. And sure enough, it took weeks for them to grasp the meaning of strategy behind their copy-paste the Tories were depicting themselves as reliable, what they superior clones of the Liberals to secure votes.

What happened next is the stuff of future political textbooks. Right-wing Tory MPs, increasingly unable to shut up or respect anyone else's choice, crowded about the coming triumph of their moral principles. Negative Grits managed those principles, naming them, often conveniently, as party policy. In the final weeks, in a mood of self-destruction and self-aggrandizement, a dark shadow erupted from a genuine desire of change. The conflict was as unexpected as it was unpleasant.

And so it came that on July 1, the day the poisonous drama of the next Parliament. Having pined for the Tories in elections, having misjudged his own superior will,

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. "There will not be a lot of public tolerance for deviating from those propositions."

Such high stakes seemed preposterous at the campaign start. As the various polls of Michael Adams' ally, Martin, had reduced voters to programs with great joy. It was not a starting spectacle. But when the Liberals slipped in the polls, strategists scrambled for a last-ditch move to differentiate themselves. Seizing on the extreme views of Tory MPs, they concentrated on voters.

As a result, the election falls Duff's three years for being a contest of lasting interest was a fight that had gone on for other ways. It focused on power issues such as the state's role in the economy and the regulation of such secondary social issues as abortion, and it marked an evolution in political process with its adoption of informal and distorted assertions. "We wanted a nice, clean campaign," says a Liberal insider, "where we would present unassailable propositions and everyone would accept. Oh, yes. 'Nobody ever deliberately claims this kind of role.'"

Normally, campaigns do not denigrate the moral integrity of opponents, they usually differ on the means to accomplish their agreed-upon ends as economic growth. Not this time. This, each party in created this situation. But it is the Liberals who will pay the higher price: in assessing the Toronto's crying up to anti-life Americans and to Albert's Ralph Klein, who was depicted as intent on two-tier health care, they may have made it more difficult for themselves to maintain smooth Canada. 11.5 million or so senior citizens care at the issue? Politicians should think very hard before they cast the first critical stone.

Mary Janigan is a political and policy writer. Mary Janigan is a political and policy writer.

MPS inclined to fix their muscles with realism: that by forging alliances they may be able to have their way as rarely before.



THE SECRET SEXTET

A Trudeau-era brain trust revived the dying Liberal election campaign

SO, WE THREW THE BASCALS IN

Never mind. Exactly how the 13.5 million citizens who cast their ballots voted strategically to produce that divine result, I will never know in their impetuous wisdom, Canadians elected a handsome Liberal Party that still retains office, but not absolute power. Perfection.

It took Paul Martin only two weeks to go from an electoral Kim Campbell-style free fall. He announced self-contradictory policies, such as his opposition to the Amérindians' sponsored "reconciliation in spirit," yet suggested that Canada would probably join the Bush administration's shield which, of course, is based on the reaffirmation of the stratosphere.

Determined to ensure a rescue mission to mount Martin out of his dille, the PM's brain trust, as opposed to campaign strategists (who didn't deserve that title), met for dinner in Toronto on June 5, about halfway through the campaign. These Trudeau-era apparitions couldn't credit the notion that a new political movement only eight months old appeared to be debarring Canada's Natural Governing Party.

The ginger group included Senator Jerry Grafstein, who had prepared a similar wake-up memo for John Turner when he succeeded Prime Trudeau as prime minister in 1984. Turner ignored that advice, ending up with a ramp of 40 seats. Also at the dinner were Dick O'Hagan (who had successfully managed Lester Pearson's and Trudeau's press relations), Martin Goldfish (the retired politician who still knew his craft), Dorothy Day (the wife of former Senator Keith Day, who invented the modern Liberal Party), Ray Bland (a former foreign correspondent who has the best command in the country), and Ben Averley (who is a country's most practical intellectual). During the next two weeks they sent summaries of their discussions to Francis Fox,

Martin's principal secretary, and Senator Jack Austin, a key Martin strategist and all-round deep thinker.

Because none of them held office within the Martin hierarchy and were not backing for patronage plans, their counsel was rough, ready and welcome. "Our political reality appears to be asymmetrical, dissonant and counterproductive," one memo began. "The campaign has not managed the voters' anger, offering no hope for the future. It's the economy, stupid! The PM must move to his strength, the old Liberal Trinity: a strong economy, a united country and a message of hope. Occupy your strong ground: talk about growth and jobs."

They objected strongly to David Hurl's negative ad campaign showing a disinte-

tion-swarm was still uncertain, the group sounded a big giddy. "Sarcasm was a philosopher. He offered unbridled advice. He was poisoned. We are mindful of our fate." It ended with a personal sign-off to Paul Martin: "Keep rolling. You are growing on a virtuous cycle."

Studying the improvement of the Martin campaign in its final phase, I have no doubt that it was this secret of secret strategists who guided Martin out of his labyrinth. But in real terms, Harper helped a lot more. I don't pretend to understand the neo-con mentality, but I remember clinging into their circumscribed view of the world when Terry O'Neill, then editor of the former right-wing magazine *BC Review*, condensed *The English Patient* because the movie broke seven of the Ten Commandments.

The new Conservative leader fits the retrograde template, and this was what Conservative Senator Lowell Murray had in mind when he attacked him on the eve of the vote for failing to continue the "modern, centrist influence" of the old Conservative party. Harper also lost jobs of credibility when he allowed his war room to accuse Martin of being soft on child pornography. Even close-up campaigns have limits of decency that must not be crossed.

Layton was right when he complained that Canadians were being asked to vote for something bad (the Martin Liberals) or to support something worse (the Harper Conservatives). But when Jan 19 came, he was left with only one place to hide in the bosom of the Liberal Party: David Lewis, one of his producers, had the same problem when Trudeau emerged from the 1972 election with a minority mandate. The day so dry uncertainty mobilized Pierre's wit and that presidential government was probably his best.

May Martin follow Trudeau's example. **ES**

BECAUSE none of them held office within the Martin hierarchy their counsel was rough ready and welcome

grazing Canadian flag. ("The old emblemized symbol of both the party and the country. Liberals don't burn their own flag.") Still, she didn't stop the group from suggesting some Rumsfeld tactics of their own after Beverly White, the retrograde Tory from North Vancouver, promised that a Stephen Harper government would redefine Trudeau's Charter of Rights. "We should use the visual close-up of the Charter being ripped up," she advised. Another alternative they considered was having NDP leader Jack Layton ripping up the Clarity Bill, thus allowing Quebec to secede.

Some of their ideas were too risky, but their memos gave new life, purpose and momentum to an expiring Liberal campaign. In their final memo, when the die

ON THE ROAD

in Ontario

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The Bruce beckons

The Bruce Peninsula, Imagine a jet of wilderness panned between two shores—the windswept blue waters of Georgian Bay to one side and the Caribbean-like turquoise of Lake Huron along the other. Along its length, you'll find Canada's largest public beach, hundreds of species of birds and wildlife, quiet coves for swimming and kayaking, numerous fishing spots and one of North America's premier diving spots. No wonder this ecological playground has been designated part of a UNESCO World Biosphere Reserve like the Galapagos Islands or the Serengeti Plains. It's a geological wonder waiting to be explored, on foot, in the water and from the air.

Paths to glory

In 2001, the Bruce Trail was named Canada's top outdoor attraction. No surprise. With 830 km of trails along the Niagara Escarpment and 360 km of side trails, including many easy loops, it's the longest public footpath in the world.

The northern section of trail offers hikes for all levels of ability as it winds its way from Spirit Rock Conservation Area east, Owen Sound through Cape Croker, First Nations Reserve and up to the first champagne-popping, red-cliff marker at Tebenary.

By following the well-etched trails (ranging from gentle island walks to more rugged climbs up cliffsides), you'll encounter beautiful scenery, geological treasures and unique opportunities to explore the cliff tops of Bruce Peninsula National Park, you'll



The Bruce Trail follows the Niagara Escarpment to Tebenary.

encounter stunning views over Georgian Bay, or bring your canoe. At the Gannon near Halfway Rock—a shallow rock face honeycombed with caves—jump into the water to explore the craggy submarine openings in the rock. Inside, the water glitters with dancing beams of sunlight filtering through the rock.

For a real adventure, take the canoe route, it takes about eight or more days. Too much gear to lug? No worry. For 16 years, a group of local and breakfast owners have been transporting luggage and fortifying hikers with hearty breakfasts, packed lunches and dinners. All you need to move from section to section is your-

self and basic supplies. There's even a wheelchair-accessible section of the trail—the Snake Trail Boardwalk—that crosses through the Cape Croker Indian Reserve by the Chippewa of Nawash First Nation along the shores of Colpo's Bay.



Your childhood from climbing was never as good as this at Bruce's Cove.

Treetop ride-athon

Where better to start an eco-adventure than high up in the branches of eighty 200-year-old oak trees at Scotts Creek Nature Adventures near Collingwood?

The two-hour tree-top exploration begins by strapping up in harness, helmet and gloves, then grabbing hold of the first of four ropes and snugging along cables through the forest canopy. Your longest ride through the trees is 300 metres. Trained guides will assist you and offer fascinating details

Rate a 200-metre rope that will whisk you through the forest canopy.

about the region's flora and fauna, ecology and history along the route.

You can get another view of the valley's topography from atop Ontario's longest suspension footbridge near one of the highest points of the Niagara Escarpment. The 126-metre-long structure sits 25 metres above the valley floor. On a clear day, you can enjoy the 10,000 sq-km vista across forests and fields to Wasaga Beach on Georgian Bay and across Cherrim Island. Note: Running or hiking shoes required for both attractions.



Canoeing in Ontario is the quintessential Canadian outdoor experience

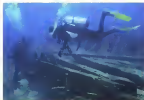
Paddles and pedals

You'll find that a can kayak is the perfect vessel for exploring the cliffs and coves of the Bruce Peninsula and for navigating between the northern islands off Lake Huron. At Lake Huron, you can go roughly very quickly.

The best kayak for Lake Huron is a touring kayak. Along the coast, you can find a lot of touring kayakers. For more on this, see the "Canoeing" section on page 10.

From Southport, you can go to the Bruce Peninsula and the Georgian Bay area. On the north shore of Georgian Bay, you can go to the Bruce Peninsula and the Georgian Bay area. On the north shore of Georgian Bay, you can go to the Bruce Peninsula and the Georgian Bay area.

If you're set on paddling a canoe, you must offer certain from river rivers to wherever. On the morning, Kariak River.



Don't miss the spectacular at Fathom Five National Marine Park

Wildflower walks and birding breaks

Rare orchids, exotic plants, more than 30 kinds of ferns and thousand-year-old oaks are some of the plants and animals that grow on the Peninsula and on nearby Riverport Island. About half the world's dwarf lake iris, most of Canada's lesser plants and other species of rare wildflowers fringe the coast.

Birdwatchers flock to the Bruce as it lies on a migratory flight path. In summer, especially in the early morning, you'll be rewarded by birding. About 300 species, including the scarlet tanager, the spotted woodpecker and even bald eagles have been spotted here.



Howlerpaw Island near Lake Huron

Special festivals such as the annual Bruce Fringe Festival (May 28 to June 6) in MacGregor Point, Brown Point Park or the Bruce Peninsula Hiking Festival (October 1-3) celebrate this popular activity.

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Fly in

A number of companies offer scenic flights over the Bruce. There's nothing like watching the sun's famous rays from the south, according to National Geographic. From the seat of a Cessna, Arrive by the coast of the Bruce. From the seat of a Cessna, Arrive by the coast of the Bruce. From the seat of a Cessna, Arrive by the coast of the Bruce.

The marvels of Manitoulin

Come to Manitoulin Island — sometimes called the "Jewel of Northern Ontario" — on your way up or other natural jewels there sparkling in the night sky. Manitoulin is becoming known for its daily sky sanctuary and special "star parties." But the world's largest freshwater island also boasts more than 180 lakes, terrific hiking trails and Canada's only unceded Indian reserve, a spiritual home for thousands of First Nations peoples.

Forest paths, night skies

Lace up your hiking boots for spectacular hikes through hardwood forest, pass scenic trails (top at Bruce Trail) for a dip and up onto the rugged rock face. The best known is the Cup and Saucer Trail (18 km west of Little Current). Follow the signs along the lower 2.7 km pathway or the upper 5 km section. If you opt for the Adventure Trail, a 2-km and at the top, you'll be climbing nearly 1,000 ft and hiking along a narrow ledge with spectacular views of the North Channel.

At Gowan's Park on Hwy 6, just north of Hwy 542, you'll be able to hike five different ecosystems on the Eco Trail. Watch for hawks, porcupines, deer or even evidence



Discover authentic Ojibwa culture on Manitoulin

paths lined with mushrooms and wildflowers and even the forest. Watch for hawks, porcupines, deer or even evidence

of wolves along the way.

At night, you can stay at a ropes or B&B, then parties put in a Manitoulin star party. This daytime sanctuary is blessed with a 360 degree view.

At the no-size observatory with its telescope and remarkable roof, you'll learn to identify stars and planets, through the darkened sky. Every Thursday night in July and August is a special Astronomy Night. For \$10, join an astronomer who will teach you how to "see" the night sky and point out celestial constellations.

Native spirits

The Ojibwa people have inhabited Manitoulin (Gift of the Gods) for 10,000 years. Today, the island is home to a thriving Ojibwa culture. Discover impressive galleries of native art as well as workshops and tours. From the Ojibwa Cultural Foundation centre, set on the M'Chingun (Hiking Trail) or the famous Cup and Saucer Trail. The island's big summer highlight is the "Manitoulin Star Party" (July 31-Aug 2), Eastern Canada's oldest star party celebration.

Fish tales

Need for fish stories on Manitoulin? Most lodges and resorts provide guides who will take you to the best fishing holes and even show you to catch and prepare it for you to take home. It's a way to manage stress for terrific chum salmon and rainbow trout fishing in the big waters of Lake Huron and the Manitoulin area. Anglers here often set record catches for chum salmon, lake trout and northern pike. Check with Ontario's Ministry of Natural Resources on fishing seasons and regulations.

Find out more

www.manitoulin.com

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Due north: Dip, dip and swing

Since Grey Owl earned that old-growth forest area of red and white pine and spruce lakes, paddlers have witnessed the beauty of Temagami—a land of “deep waters by the shore.” From Lake Temagami, ancient portage routes connect hundreds of lakes and rivers to form a 1,246-km canoe corridor. You can paddle through cool, clear waters or hike through stands of old-growth pine. You'll pass (and perhaps stop at) Canoeing Black, a meadow viewed by the Ojibwa on their stone quays. Or, if you'd like to experience the Spine of Superior, head west along the spectacular Lake Superior shore to one of the world's great sea-kayaking destinations. Off-shore adventures include climbing to the two highest points in the province.

The canoe capital of Canada

In Temagami, you can paddle more of the vast routes in Grey Owl. Legend has it that the region's first wilderness aided the Great Spirit for water far past parched land. While he drew them water from the sea, the largest drops became Lake Temagami and the smaller ones turned into nearby lakes. The 1,200 islands that dot the long, white and bays of the elongated lake are part of almost 8,000 square miles of unconnecting canoe routes. The route? There are circuits for all levels of paddlers from novice to expert.

At the Temagami Canoe Company in town, which staffed customers near out-camp in the forest cedar-camp canoes in the world. Since will launch immediately into these lakes.



Legendary Lake Temagami lies at the heart of 8,000 sq. km. of canoe country.

Novice canoeists can rent a canoe in town or at Frythorn Point Provincial Park. It's an easy paddle to Temagami and Bear Islands at the end of the lake. Stop over at the Temagami Archipelago Tipi Camp on the Bear Island Reserve. Stop nearby on High Rock Island and hike up the rock face for an amazing view.

If you've never paddled before, many local guides and outfitters around the lake offer special guided canoe trips. Sign

up with the kids for a Tree Hugger weekend or a woman's canoeing getaway accompanied with watercolor workshops.

Experienced canoeists can paddle to the Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Wilderness Park, accessible only by canoe or float plane. The light here is magical, especially in early morning when it reflects off the pre-Cambrian rock or illuminates the oldest white and pine forests on the coast.

At you paddle, keep your eye out for the rare peregrine falcon, as well as large numbers of beaver, wolf, moose, cougar, bear and lynx. Climb the park's scenic lookouts from Maple Mountain, or the 695-metre Indiania Ridge, Ontario's highest point.

Enthusiasts also recognized the Pelicanus National Park along the north shore of Lake Superior between South Bay and Thunder Bay and Quince Provincial west of Thunder Bay for their “awesome canoeing.”

The story of Grey Owl

In 1906, Archie Belaney, a British-born immigrant, arrived in Canada to start a new life. He was an escaped convict from Canada's native peoples that he arrived in with a band of Ojibwa on Bear Island in Lake Temagami. Sporting beards and buckskins, he claimed to be half-native, he lived and worked as Grey Owl or “his white brother by night.” Many thought he was truly Aboriginal. For 30 years, he paddled the Temagami wilderness, acquiring expert knowledge of the bush and his love of the land. At any Indian Point Provincial Park just outside the town of Temagami, you'll find a small canoe museum displaying his books and the animals he trapped (including otter, owl and a lynx). You can see some of his artifacts at the Welcome Centre in town.

Houseboating

Houseboaters already familiar with the Twin Sisters and Middle River systems can be tempted by a more northern experience. By staying a houseboat on Lake Temagami, many companies offer week-long rentals at reasonable rates. The boats accommodate up to ten people and come with fully equipped galleys and day/night for easy shore excursions. Try your luck fishing for lake trout, smallmouth bass, walleye or whitefish. And of course, you'll have the lake. Hundreds of ports call this lake home.



Houseboats let you relax with maximum comfort and convenience.

Forest trails

To get your forest bear hug, climb the steps of Temagami Pic Tower just out of town atop the 125-metre summit of Caribou Mountain. From the 36-metre-high tower, you'll get a 360-degree, 40 kilometre view. From there, or off as a number of hiking trails that are easy enough for the kids. A series of hiking trails through White Bear Park takes from two to an hour. Don't leave without a visit to the Interpretive Centre, dedicated to those who fought against forest fires.

In recent years, controversy has surrounded the logging of Temagami's old-growth forests. Some of these forests, notably the large stands of red and spruce-white pine at the north end of Obabika Lake, are now protected as wilderness. These centuries-old trees will be around for decades to come. You'll also hike beneath leaf-bearing, mossy trees as aspens, white birch and maple. As you walk, look around to see carpers, of ferns, mudrooms and wildflowers.



You can explore Temagami's old-growth forests from any number of trails.

Keen for kayaking

If you would rather paddle a kayak than a canoe, head westward to the shores of Lake Superior, the largest body of fresh water on earth. The lake's cold and stormy, it takes for adult and serious kayaking outings.

In Wawa, sign up for a guided kayak trip to Michipicoten Island. It's a remote and rugged site that's home to woodland caribou, black-throated bluebirds, great horned owls and dip-sweeds. Or drive the spectacular shoreline along the Temagami-Canoeing to Kenagami (about 200 km west of Thunder Bay on Hwy 17). From that quiet lake-shore town, kayak out to the Rockport Islands, home of the Prince Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Reserve.

On paddle from Square Bay on the Shibley Peninsula in Black Bay and follow the rugged and beautiful coastline island coast. Paddle alone or with a partner or bring the kids for a family kayak “cruise.” You'll be paddling in the wake of First Nations people, explorers and those like Grey Owl who simply have come to love this land.

Now! Summer is warm but nights can be cool, and even in July temperatures can dip to 5C. Bring layers and warm clothing for your open-water adventure.

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Information is online at OnTheRoad.com/expeditions for more information on the Lake Superior region. See page 1 for details.

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Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater
Wilderness Park
705-569-5205
www.ontario.ca/parks
- Temagami Region
800-467-7629
www.temagami.com
- Temagami Archipelago
Tipi Camp
705-237-4475
www.temagamipti.com
- Wawa Tourism
Information Centre
800-367-8084
www.wawa.ca

A river runs through it

Want an adrenaline-pumping water ride? Look no farther than the mighty Ottawa River—an attraction for rafters from around the world looking to experience the wildest whitewater race of the Rockies. Two exhilarating channels offer an 18-km stretch of frothy, swirling rapids. But the Ottawa also offers quieter channels, where gentle currents meander around small islands and along the banks. These mellower spots are perfect for family float trips, beginner kayaking lessons or voyeurist canoe paddling trips.



Let the dream of seeing the rapids of one of Canada's longest rivers along the Ottawa and Nepean rivers.

Whitewater river adventures

Ride the rapids with more like Rushers Kite or Lumberjacks Leap during springtime rush for high-rapid thrills. As one outfitter describes the Ottawa's main channel, "It's a straight forward rock 'em, sock 'em big water run." Or, go absolutely soaked on summer while body-surfing through waves, rolling waves on a family float. Ottawa's rapids and currents offer excitement for all levels from those who travel the world seeking out the best challenges to complete neophytes who have never soaked whitewater before.

This water-action hotspot is becoming increasingly known for its family rafting trips. Kids

as young as seven (and weighing at least 25 kg) are expertly guided down special channels with gentle waves and mellower currents. Or, they may rather participate in supervised activities such as nature hikes or volleyball games while their parents are taking the big ones. Teenagers 15 and up (and weighing more than 40 kg) can ride the big ones and experience their first taste of whitewater.

Route:

From Ottawa, follow Hwy 417 west through Kanata then Hwy 17 north to Cobden. Watch for signs for Forestville Falls or Rockcliffe. From Forestville take Hwy 401 east to Nepean and Hwy 41 north to Foxville. Then east, and follow the signs to Cobden.

Ask about week-long family adventure camps, two- or three-day programs, guide-yourself canoe-raft outings and sport "rafting" in two-person inflatable kayaks. Lunches, bistro crates or barbecues are often included as part of the rafting experience.

Thrill-seekers can also test the whitewater in a kayak as the Ottawa is fast becoming a hotspot for whitewater and racing kayaks. Allow several days to paddle the Ottawa Kanak Hermitage Trail.

For extreme adventures, head about riverboating! Pioneered in New Zealand and on the Zambezi River in Africa, this new (and somewhat risky) sport involves body-surfing through rollercoaster-style rapids. Flip-outs, helmet and life jackets are essential for safety as are nerves of steel.

Find Out More

Ottawa Valley Adventure
www.ottavavalleyadventure.com

Ottawa Valley
Tourism Association
800-757-6300
www.ottavavalley.org

Rafting activities
www.mountaincraftoutdoors.com
www.rivermatters.com

Cayleb Post
613-623-4952

Family Rafting Weekend
800-667-1500
www.familyraftingweekend.com

Nepean River
Whitewater Rafting
www.nepeanriver.com

Family fishing

A popular in Nepean, Annapolis, and other areas, channel catfishing from June through March. Rivers and streams teem with freshwater fish including lake, brook and rainbow trout, catfish and



Life-long memories are made of this.

whitefish. Warmers, shallower waters are better for walleye, pike and muskellunge bass.

On Father's Day weekend in June, attend the Canfish Fest or plan to arrive for Family Fishing Weekend, an inter-governmental "teaching" event to be held July 9-11.

Algonquin playground

Algonquin Park is Ontario's oldest and best-known provincial park, covering 7,725 square kilometres of forests with 1,500 kilometres of canoe routes and 2,500 sparkling lakes. It's home to 250 species of birds and wildlife that includes moose, bear and wolf. In short, it's a wonderful wilderness setting for outdoor adventure.

With its tangled forests, rocky outcrops and bounding lakes, Algonquin has become one of Ontario's most famous wilderness symbols. Loon calls echo across its lakes, moose howls in nearby areas and wolves howl on late summer nights. But for all its wilderness, much of Algonquin remains easily accessible to visitors, just a three-hour drive north of Toronto.

The Visitor Centre hosts exhibits depicting the park throughout the seasons. It's also the place to learn about the many programs, offerings, including painting classes, guided hikes and night-time wolf howls. Explore Algonquin's eastern



Just a board a land you may choose as a board watching a boat-day trip.

side via Road 28 which leads to Barton River canyon and some of the park's most dramatic scenery. A 1.5-km trail leads to the rim of the canyon for spectacular views of the 100-metre cliffs and the river below.

An artist's eye

Isn't draw I haven't been as an art class since I was 14. So I was feeling like a proverbial fish out of water when I arrived for my Arts in the Wild class, "Look, See, Paint."

From the beginning, teacher Jeff Miller works at raising the intimidation factor, "Don't

worry about doing a master piece," he says. "Just paint." After some words on technique, he passes out small tubes he's made up. Inside, we find a brush, an coloured paint palette, a small black frame and post-card size paper.

Miller's real gift is the energy, his passion, his enthusiasm and encouragement. "Use a Frame. Get in close. See how much can be said with just a few strokes. Here. You don't have to paint every area. Suggest. The mind will fill in the rest. Go for it." I soon find myself more in the ground with Miller's little frames, starting as a part of panoramas. "Try a one minute painting," he suggests. With that, I start applying my Seizy recommendations. I wind up with a passable little painting. By the end of the session, I have art.



Algonquin Park is a source of artistic inspiration for the Group of Seven.

Find Out More

Algonquin Park
705-633-3572
www.algonquinpark.on.ca
Paddling Ontario
www.paddlingontario.com
www.canoeandkayakontario.com
Ask Al the Wild
1-866-643-9112
www.askalthewild.com

Route:

From Toronto, take Hwy 400 north. At Barrie, pick up Hwy 17 and continue to Huntsville. Turn east on Hwy 60 which runs through the park. The Visitor Centre is at Km 45. To reach the eastern park entrance from Ottawa, drive north on Hwy 17. At Renfrew, head west on Hwy 60 through Barry's Bay to the park. Note: Visitors who plan to stop in the park must purchase permits at the gates.

It just gets better



At the touch of a button, the top comes off and the sky opens in. Plus no longer is beneath a glass ceiling—or any ceiling for that matter blocking the sky to the limit. The sun warms your face as you take a breath of freedom. This look around at all the time... when it's over, you'll be too tired to get up. The new Chrysler PT Cruiser Convertible. Redefining the ownership experience.

For more information please visit chrysler.ca

Remember to enter us On The Road Sweepstakes to win a fabulous getaway in historic Niagara-on-the-Lake. See page 14 for details.

Quinte by bicycle or boat

Prince Edward County, stretching unadorned into Lake Ontario between Toronto and Niagara, has gained a reputation as excellent cycling country. You'll ride through rolling hills, down quiet roads, over small villages in rustic wine or cider or maple froth plantings. Most roads lead to the shore, so take a sand break at Sandbanks Provincial Park, one of the largest sand bar and dune systems in the world, or take a dip in the warm waters of the inland lakes. Watersports, too, are abundant. Test your skills at landing trophy walleye or channel catfish, paddle a kayak to small islands offshore or even drive to explore shipwrecks from long ago.



Prince Edward County is tailor made for exploration by bicycle.

Superior cycling

The beauty of cycling in Prince Edward County is that the roads are fairly flat and free of traffic. Plus, you can't get lost, remember, nearly all roads end at the shore!

Pick up cycling route maps at the Prince Edward County Chamber of Tourism & Commerce in Picton or at Sandbanks Provincial Park. Then strap up.

Route:

To reach Picton from Toronto, take Hwy. 401 to exit 525, then south on Hwy. 33. From Ottawa, take exit 566, then south on Hwy. 49. From Kingston, take Hwy. 33 west and catch the free Glenora Ferry to Quinte's Isle.

on picnic, fire, rack in shade-in-the-country, not pepper jelly, local Black Creek cheese, and cozy homemade bread from Rosemary's Café in Bloomfield.

Finally, set out to explore on the use of a rented bicycle, whether it be a road bike, a tandem bike for two, a mountain bike to tackle the 20 trails through Macaulay Mountain Conservation Area or a bike trailer that gives kids a changeable, rolling view. Helicopters, water bottles and roadside rescue service are included.

From Bloomfield, it's an easy cycle to Wellington. Both towns are home to several artists' studios exhibiting arts and crafts from pottery to stained glass.

For another scenic day trip, travel south from Picton on County Road 11 to "Whisper," where you can stop for a meal and wine tastings at one of many

wineries that have been established in the county. On your return, take the little-cannellied back roads that meander past pretty farms and through cathedral-like forest groves.

An angler's delight

Nature groups need Sandbanks as a fishing outpost some 5,000 years ago. The Bay of Quinte is now known as the walleye capital of Canada. You can lead a catch starting from May 1. Come June, you'll also be able to reel in pike, perch, bass or panfish in both East and West Lake in Sandbanks Provincial Park. And anglers are sure to come away satisfied.

Early July is prime for smallmouth and largemouth bass in Big Bay, the Hay and Muscote

Water sports

Picnicking views in Prince Edward County are not reserved just for cyclists. From your eyes on Lake Ontario's scenery from a kayak, canoe or sailboat. Just off Sandbanks Provincial Park, the conditions for this sport are considered just about perfect.

This region is also attracting more water-driven—well, with good reason. Two-thirds or more of Lake Ontario shipwrecks, especially those dating from the schooner and early motor era, lie in shallow waters between Point Pelee and the Duck Islands.

Divers gear up at Point Pelee at the end of Long Point Road (the extreme southernmost tip of the county) to explore such wrecks as the steam tug Florence (sunk for legions at about 15 metres depth) or the Olive Branch. Many artifacts remain to be explored, including the steering wheel and anchor.

After a day at evening in the water, test your body at any number of Raftie, open boat or motor during the life. One doing, waterfowl even rent canoes right on the beach so that you're never far from water.



Fish is just catch at Bay of Quinte.



Sandbanks is a great destination for family camping and water activities.

Dune magic

Sandbanks Provincial Park has a large sand dune system led by a succession of scenic viewpoints. When walking the Cedar Sand Trail, a well-guided route over the East Lake bar,

you'll discover the ecology of these famous landmarks. Near East Lake, you'll be able to climb sand dunes rising more than 80 metres. But it's also the long stretches of forest, wide beaches that attract thousands each year for swimming, splashing and beachcombing.

This area is also very popular for birdwatching as it is an important migratory route. The Bird Observatory is located about 30 minutes southeast of Picton. Some 557 species of birds have been recorded here, so bring your binoculars and bird books (interested to know

Find Out More

Bay of Quinte Country
888-452-9692
www.bayofquinte.ca

Prince Edward County
800-648-4777
www.pec.ca

Prince Edward Point
Bird Observatory
www.pebpo.ca

Sandbanks Provincial Park
888-668-7275
613-391-8129
www.DunesandParks.com

Wine Council of Ontario
www.winecouncilofontario.org

which species have been spotted in Prince Edward County this week? Check out www.bayofquinte.ca and follow the links. And be sure to visit Bird House City just outside Picton, featuring more than 80 historical folk art creations for our feathered friends.



The Jeep legend

Once upon a time, the world was introduced to a new vehicle of travel—one that had the potential to take people to almost any place thought impossible. That vehicle was called Jeep Willys CJ, and once it began climbing mountains, traversing rivers and exploring valleys across North America, it legend was born. That legend quickly lives on to this day in Jeep Grand Cherokee Liberty TJ and the newest addition, TJ Unlimited. Confronting over sixty years of off-road leadership with innovation, refinement, and superior performance, these vehicles proudly represent the most recognized brand of 4x4s on the planet. Each is designed to travel a legend's path—one forged over sixty years ago and still evolving. For more information, please visit jeep.ca



The Lake Erie shore: it's for the birds

The largely flat shoreline of Lake Erie is broken by a string of parks filled with sandpits, open fields and marshlands—prime birding territory. You'll spot some 350 species of birds—and butterflies—as well as unique plant species. So don't forget your hiking boots or binoculars. But this shallow, warm lake, famed for the fishing Erieian boogman class, also offers a series of quaint port towns, perfect jump-off points for fishing trips and diving adventures.



Pelee Island, a short drive from Windsor, is a birdwatcher's paradise.

Bird watching

At Point Pelee National Park, the southernmost point in mainland Canada, you'll find a Canadian ecosystem. Here, you'll walk through forests of hickory, oak and ash, black walnut and blue ash, as well as jungle-like vine and scrubland, ideal habitat for migrating, black-crowned night-herons, blue jays and other birds.

Some birders have counted

over 190 species in a day in this park. No wonder that birders from around the world converge to count birds here almost all year round, but especially from May through September.

The point and headlands area extend 16 kilometers into Lake Erie. From the National Park entrance, drive these kilometers behind the shore to the Marsh Boardwalk nature trail, where you'll also find a restaurant and canoe and bike rentals. Hike or bike to the Visitor Centre where you can pick up information on the park's geographical and biological features. From April to October, shuttle buses take you to the start of a footpath leading to the tip of the peninsula. It's a fun and unique trip onto the lake.

Long Point Provincial Park is just a 40-kilometer-long sandpit further east in Lake Erie. It's recognized as a

UNESCO World Biosphere Reserve and itypically for migrating birds such as the American white pelican and yellow warbler. You'll come upon lots of waterfowl in February. Tundra starts by March and all manner of waterfowl through fall. All summer long, however, are songbirds at the Long Point Bird Observatory and watch bird banding at the station there. You might even get to hawk.

Other key birding areas are Port Huron, where ribbons of dunes, beach terraces and meadow provide ideal habitat and sand-over points. Rondeau Provincial Park with its open fields for hiking, cycling and ice-fishing during warmer months and the nearby town of Aylmer, where you can climb the Wildlife Management Viewing Station to watch the world's largest congregation of Tundra swans.

Butterflies fly free

During peak butterfly months of July and August, you'll see three dozen species along these shores, including the giant swallowtail. Jan. Price's annual summer-time butterfly count or one of its dozens of hikes or children's nature walks to learn more about these highly winged creatures. Catch signs of hundreds of monarchs, especially during September when they stop enroute at Point Pelee. Long Point, Rock Point and Pelee Island before heading to their winter playground in Mexican States.

Wildlife watch

The southern-type habitat is not just for the birds and bees. Watch for "Canadian Wildlife" signs along the roads and keep your eyes peeled for turtles including snapping, blindages, spotted and painted turtles, as well as the eastern garter and fox snakes, garter, water snakes and Canada only moccasins, the opossum. At Point Pelee, launch a kayak into the lake and examine upon visitors to close range. Canoes are also available to paddle through the marshlands.



Calm, quiet waters to explore.



A tourist's reflection along the Niagara River.

Cycling to Niagara

At Port Erie, see nature in the 56-km Niagara River Recreation Trail, probably the most scenic and popular bike path in the province. You'll wind your way along the Niagara escarpment past scenic attractions such as the Butterfly Conservatory or the Thousand Islands. Head to the Niagara Falls to see the powerhouses of the world.

Many bike trails and facilities along the way provide both vehicles and repairs should you require them.

Fishing—from pickeral to perch

Follow in the footsteps of the Eriean native peoples, who honed their fishing skills along these shores. You'll be able to catch muskies, carp and channel cats, perch in rainbow trout, pike and walleye, or even walleye off the end of a dock.

But this lake, especially

one of the local women for trout and tarragon.

A lot more peddling and you'll reach Niagara-on-the-Lake, home of the Shaw Festival, Fort George National Historic Site and the shores of Lake Ontario. Book a B&B to stay over and see a play before heading back to Lake Erie next day. After all, the play's the thing.

Many bike trails and facilities along the way provide both vehicles and repairs should you require them.



Big fish fishing can be fun for everyone.

Wreck diving

Lake Erie is the watery grave of more than a thousand shipwrecks lying in depths from five meters to 25 metres with visibility up to 20 metres. The most famous is the luxury liner, the *Titanic*, which sank in 1912 with 1,500 people on board and 500 perished.

While international groups search for sunken pilot vessels, divers can explore her 500-ton wreck just 100 metres from Long Point. Check out her wooden paddlewheel. Collected artifacts are on view in the Port Dover Harbour Museum.

Other fascinating wrecks include the *Windsor*, a fishing tug, sunk by a piece of ice that hit it in 1912, and the *Cyprian*, a wooden two-masted schooner off Long Point. At Pelee, don your scuba gear and explore Lake Erie's (blue) Phage, home to more than 200 ancient treasures lies a diver's delight.

around Port Dover, is most famous for its yellow perch. Tuna is firmly cooked and accompanied by golden fries at numerous shops along the bustling main street. Then pay homage to the statue at the end of the pier honoring the fisherman of Lake Erie.

For the pretty marina, the Port Dover Sailing School offers beginner and advanced courses in those wishing to pick up the wind on the lake.

In Canada, or explore through yachting and tourism in the largest remaining stand of Carolinian forest in Ontario.

At Turkey Point Provincial Park, bring the kids to take the connecting 2.4-km Rainbow Ridge trail through wetlands, marsh and forest to a fish hatchery and pond.

The legend lives on



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Find out more

Point Pelee National Park
519-333-2185
www.pc.gc.ca

Long Point Bird Observatory
519-583-2650

Port Huron
519-674-6091

Shaw Festival
519-596-2291

White Council of Ontario
519-333-2185

Windsor
519-251-5151

Port Dover
519-333-2185

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Route:

Start your water adventure at Point Pelee National Park and travel the shore through Long Point and Port Dover to Port Erie. Then, grab a bike to cycle the Niagara River Recreational Trail to Niagara-on-the-Lake and another Great Lakes shore.

Rail adventure to Cree country

For true adventure, set out by rail for the subarctic shores of James Bay, one of Ontario's last frontiers. With no roads to this former Hudson's Bay fur trading hub, you'll travel comfortably from Coburne via the famed Polar Bear Express. Visit Mooseonee and Moose Factory and immerse yourself in the heart of the Great Muskogee, one of the world's largest wetlands. Collect 300-million-year-old fossil specimens and enjoy aboriginal hospitality at a traditional Cree Village.

The train travels through miles of boreal forest and across vast moosey plains that stretch across this sub-Arctic wilderness. At Mooseonee, board the *M/V Polar Pioneer* to cruise down the Moose River past the Ship Sunk Island (best sanctuary to the shores of James Bay). Lace up your hiking boots for a trek across the muskeg bog to see wildflowers and many northern bird species, such as tundra swallows, golden-crowned kinglets and

and jays.

Plan on visiting the Cree Reserve on Moose Factory Island, an old fur-trading post established in 1673. As this traditional native village, you can hear tales from an elder, meet Innuanook over an open fire, learn of aboriginal ways and sleep over at the new Cree Village Eco-Lodge. It's near beargrass! Reserve ahead for lodging at either end, especially in high season, before booking your rail journey.



Route:

Board an Ontario Northland train in Coburne—either The Little Bear, a year-round train with special coffee cars, or the summertime-only Polar Bear Express (June 25 to Sept. 5).

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- ✓ Admission for four to both the Niagara Bird Aviary and the Niagara Butterfly Conservatory.
- ✓ A tour for four on the Maid of the Mist.
- ✓ Local bicycle rental for four for the duration of the stay.
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Photo: Robert Frank/REUTERS/Corbis



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Iraq

WHO'S IN CHARGE?

The U.S. transferred sovereignty but not real power, says JONATHAN GATEHOUSE

IT HAD BEEN HYPED for months as a defining historical moment, but America's handover of sovereignty to the Iraq people last week ended up feeling more like a nation being born on the wrong side of the blanket. Instead of pomp and circumstance, there was fear and secrecy. No great speeches or civic celebrations, just a five-minute ceremony, held two days ahead of schedule, before an audience of mostly Reagan reporters inside the heavily fortified "Green Zone." Hardly the stuff of song, story or commemorative postage stamps.

With good reason. Paul Bremer, Iraq's American "administrator," has been replaced by an ambassador, John Negroponte, but little else has changed. While legal authority now rests with the interim government headed by President Ghazi, Muhi al-Jawid, its powers to enact or alter laws are severely limited. The U.S. will continue

to pay the bills, oversee rebuilding efforts, and try to ensure stability with 160,000 coalition troops. Saddam Hussein may have been standing before an Iraqi judge when he defiantly rejected war crimes accusations last week and declared himself still "president of Iraq," but the courtroom was on an American military base, and the former dictator remains under U.S. guard.

And if there were any illusions about the effect the transfer of power might have on the swelling resistance movement, they were quickly shattered. In the days after the ceremony, a roadside bomb south of Baghdad killed three U.S. soldiers, while a mortar attack on a camp near the international airport wounded 11 more. Militant groups released videotapes that seemed to show the execution of one GI who disappeared in early April, and footage of a captured Marine threatened with a similar fate.

At home and abroad, the Bush administration has been billing the handover as the beginning of the end of its occupation of Iraq. Elections are supposed to take place by the end of January, but few observers see a smooth run-out. "The Iraq public is divided, confused, scared, and contains a number of elements who just flat out hate us," says Richard Murphy, assistant secretary of state for the Reagan administration and former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Syria. "This interim government isn't going to change people's minds, unless it can provide security. And that's a tough row to hoe." Despite the billions America has spent on Iraq over the past 15 months, only 148 of the 2,390 promised rebuilding projects have gotten underway. Issues such as electricity and clean drinking water remain in short supply while oil production, the backbone of the economy, lags

Saddam rejected war crimes accusations and declared he was still president of Iraq



far behind expectations. "The problems are enormous," says Murphy, now a senior fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations, a New York City-based think tank. "And if they had opened their eyes or read their history, it was all foreseeable."

U.S. efforts to enlist other countries to help clean up the mess were dealt another blow at a NATO summit in Turkey. The Bush administration was hoping the alliance would commit troops to keep the peace and share up the fledgling government. Instead, it took a rapid agreement that will see NATO help train troops for the new Iraqi army, with Germany and France explicitly making out sending their forces to Iraq.

On the domestic front, the White House has suffered even more serious setbacks in a series of U.S. Supreme Court rulings con-

tinuing to sink. More than half—52 percent—of Americans now believe the war wasn't worth fighting, according to a recent ABC/Washington Post poll, and 70 percent call the number of U.S. casualties there "unacceptable." Last week, as helicopter-attached forces, the Pentagon took the annual step of recalling nearly 6,000 soldiers to active duty. And February 9/11, Michael Moore's scathing critique of the Bush administration, opened as the No. 1 movie in America, pulling in \$23.9 million on its first weekend, a record for a docu-

mentary film. The only bright spot for the President appears to be that the focus on Iraq has knocked his Democratic opponent, John Kerry, out of the media spotlight. "I wouldn't say that either candidate has much momentum at the



Q: Did you see Michael Moore and President Bush shake hands? A: Of course.

ending many of the new powers Bush had asserted in his war on terror. Stepsizes at Guantanamo Bay and other prison camps can no longer be held indefinitely without legal hearings or counsel, the court said. Nor can the administration continue to shield key information from the public about the 9/11 attacks, and the advice it received on the issue of torture prisoners. "Sentence 11, the Bush administration has been violating a sweeping theory of executive power," says Timothy Lynch, director of the Project on Criminal Justice at the City University of Washington. "With these rulings, the administration is now clearly on the side of civil liberties."

Support for the Iraq conflict, race war,

points," says Carol Doherty of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan non-polling group. While Bush's approval ratings remain solid, Kerry's numbers aren't necessarily crumbling. And if current trends hold, the election will come down to the 21 percent of voters nationally who remain undecided or willing to change their minds. With surveys suggesting those people aren't particularly prejudiced in the campaign, and that they are just as negative about the economy as Iraq, the election isn't anybody's ball game. By November, Americans may be torn as divided and confused as the people in the country the U.S. is trying to leave.

joan@usa.gatehouse.com

LOOKING FOR A FEW GOOD CANUCKS

There are Canadians in Iraq—and they're serving in the U.S. Marine Corps. A special report by ADNAN R. KHAN.

THE SOUND OF A Cobra attack helicopter firing up is the sound of fury it whips around like a torpedos, its jet engines rumbling so furiously that the ground feels as if it will break apart. But for Capt. Michael Muehle of the U.S. Marine's 775 Squadron, the Cobra is more than just a machine of destructive force. It is an elegant human achievement, a masterpiece of design that defies the logic of gravity. "I still can't believe these things fly the way they do," he says. Muehle is a 37-year-old pilot at al-Fogdun base, near Falluja in Iraq's western desert—and he's Canadian. "Canadian, eh?" says Lt. Col. Frosch, another Cobra pilot at al-Fogdun, looking up at a helicopter outside the squadron offices. "I did not know that."

Few people do. Muehle himself barely tells anyone. "I was born in Canada and moved to the States when I was 10," he says. "But to tell you the truth, I have a rocky relationship with the U.S. And I still carry around my Canadian birth certificate." He gently pulls out the bumpy, laminated card from his flight vest. Michael Muehle, born Nov. 22, 1966, in Ottawa. He doesn't quite know why he avoids talking about his Canadian roots, but perhaps it's to avoid the type of badgering this information inspires. "You Canadians do have the best beer," Frosch jokes. "And you have the Huxton brothers, right?" Muehle takes the ribbing in stride, counter-arguing with the upside-down Canadian flag incident at the 1992 World Series between Atlanta and Toronto. "Those were Mariner who did that," he notes.

A Canadian Marine—quite the concept. But the fact is, Canadians make up the largest contingent of foreign nationals enlisted in the American military. They fill diverse roles, from ordnance technicians to front-line soldiers to administrative staff. Some join for the adventure, others to fast-track their U.S. citizenship applications (Kerry voters are often granted U.S. citizenship after their tour of duty, in July 2003). George W. Bush signed an executive order to further facilitate the process. Still others enter for ideological reasons: they believe in what the



U.S. is doing. And it's not a recent phenomenon—at more than 12,000 Canadian troops in Vietnam, and 150 last year.

Current numbers are hard to pin down, but it's estimated that thousands of Canadians are enlisted in the 2.65-million strong

Muehle, who moved when he was 10, still carries around his Canadian birth certificate.

American armed forces. Hundreds have served or are now serving in Iraq, and at least one has died: Cpl. Bernard Gooden, 22,

who emigrated to Canada from Jamaica in 1997, was killed in action on April 4, 2003.

THE ROAD TO al Anad air force base 300 km west of Baghdad, where 1,000 U.S. Marines are based, is a narrow dirt road. It winds past Abu Ghraib and Falluja, places that have set a dramatic scene for the occupation in recent months. From Falluja to Ramadi, the route is considered one of the most dangerous in Iraq.

CANADIANS are actually the largest contingent of foreign nationals enlisted in the American military.

It started with the burned-out shells of old tanks and transport trucks, victims of roadside bombs. Off the main highway, though, the scene changes dramatically. Olive trees hug the banks of the Tigris River, and lush villages are nestled into date-palm groves with the desert held at bay by irrigated farm fields. It's as Iraq goes from war to peace, peaceful and undisturbed by war.

But away from the Tigris the desert rears again. Here it's littered with damaged M16 fighter jets, dozens of them. They were part of Iraq's air force, a sorry collection of many planes in an advanced state of decay—and a sobering symbol of the impotence of Saddam's military. The aircraft never got off the ground, as the war that was only the prelude to a more open civil war. What will the Canadian perspective be? What role, if any, do they see for Canada in shaping Iraq's future?

At al Anad, 1st Lt. Lance Cpl. Dana Cash, a 28-year-old Toronto native who moved to Chicago in January 2001 with her then fiance. In her office at al Anad's administration center, which she describes as her sleeping quarters, there's a February issue of *Maclean's* on the bedside table. "I only



FLIGHT OF THE GOLD BUGS

The precious metal is back in vogue, but for the wrong reasons

THIS IS THE YEAR of the osiris. In the eastern U.S., they're coming back in the billions to do the three things they've missed 17 years for: dating, mating and generating. The first is done so readily that backyard hamon conventions can be drowned out by thousands of homopropagandists. Other bugs of this era are also up-and-coming: gold bugs, those who believe that all paper money is doomed to worthlessness. In 1987, gold lovers were ubiquitous, thinking that inflation lurked as dangerously as the precious metal. By US\$800 per ounce, up \$5 per cent from the previous year. But inflation on dollar's

return. And it wouldn't, for 17 years.

Today, there's talk of inflation even among the neo-no-inflation-evil Wall Street osiris, from whom rarely was heard a discouraging word for all those years. That was the period of disinflation, which meant falling interest rates more of the time and rising stock prices, also for most of the time. Those 17 years also coincided with the rise of Alan Greenspan, who became Fed chairman on Aug. 11, 1987, and has just been sworn in for his 900th four-year term. To hear these neo-emergent gold bugs, he shoulda died while he was alive. The fear of inflation attack.

Unlike the osiris, few gold bugs have survived. They've been called from their crypts like in many industries by the oil of

"Four Hundred and Forty"—US\$440 gold and US\$440 oil (Not that those two numbers are connected: gold was trading above US\$400 an ounce when oil was still in the low US\$30s, but the fact that those two magical threshold numbers popped up, however briefly this spring, was apparently enough to end the bugs' 17-year reign.)

To learn to the gold bugs, the return of these kind of inflation (the term is somewhat weak: market crashers) is guaranteed by that big price for oil. They point to the big rise in oil prices back in 1973-1974 that triggered 14 per cent inflation. However, that another approach to history ignores that prices more than doubled back then compared to a one-third rise now, and inflation now is about one-fifth of what it was then.

The gold bugs would do better to argue that today's early oil may not yet have worked

away fully into the inflation numbers. Oil prices have been above US\$33 for only six months, and it takes time for businesses to raise their own prices to pass along those increases. If the economy stays strong, and if they aren't competing with Asian powerhouses, businesses will doubtless try to recover those cost increases.

Yes, the good news on inflation is behind us, and there's doubtless worse news ahead. But that may not be the reason for gold's recent surge. Now, possibly dangerous connection with oil may be forming. In fact, oil and gold moved up together in May. Oil's move was powerful and was of front-page proportions. Even logic A, and even because a political issue in the U.S. Gold's increase, on the other hand, was a small, barely ob-

scuring economic report from Europe, China and Australia. The strong numbers convinced almost everybody that the U.S. was once again on a roll, which meant the Fed would have to start raising interest rates late. Result: a strong dollar and weak gold.

With oil prices touching the much-discussed US\$40 a barrel at the same time, the dollar weakened. That's the real reason why gold dropped falling and started rising again. What was fulfilling was a new concern among some economists and strategists. They watched evidence of faltering sales of American-made SUVs, and reflected that such success in Detroit has shown in recent years has come from SUVs. Japan is already selling hybrids that get up to three times the mileage of a Jeep or an Expedition. Is another Detroit disaster looming? Bad news for the struggling automobile industry is sobering news for the economy.

What kept attention at the same time when it expressed fears that its customers would be hurt by high gas prices. The people hurt most are those who drive to work, the suburbanites, the backbone of the

American economy. With that, some leading U.S. economists announced cutbacks in their forecasts for growth. The dollar responded by shifting further. Gold rallied, even though a weakening economy means weak rising inflationary pressures.

So oil and gold are linked. If over-inflated consumers cut back their discretionary spending because of high gas prices, that's really bad for the bug—which means it's good for gold.

The gold bugs are thrilled these precious metals is back in vogue. But they remain on the wrong track. Gold is more likely tied to the disinflationary impact of oil prices than to any inflationary effect.

It's tough being a bug.

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AEROPLAN CHANGES COURSE

"We're saying to our users, look at what we've achieved, and stick with us"

Rupert Duchesne, the president and CEO of Aeroplan, has spent the last couple of years getting his company out from under Air Canada's wings. Although Montreal-based Aeroplan—named the world's best frequent flyer program for the last two years—broke from the airline's control in January 2002, its close connection with the troubled carrier has left many users worried about the safety of their miles. Aeroplan's recent re-branding efforts, including improved service, a new elite card and the introduction of retail rewards, attempt to allay those fears. Duchesne, 44, recently spoke with Maclean's Assistant Editor John Irlino.

Why should consumers be excited about Aeroplan's changes?

There were many things people didn't like about the program three years ago. The customer service was terrible. You could't earn miles in many places. You couldn't get a redemption card. You could easily wait a couple of hours on the phone. Now 80 per cent of calls are usually answered within 20 seconds. We didn't have a Web site to book rewards. Now we can. And we had a very limited number of partners. Now we have more than 180.

Is offering retail rewards an attempt to distance yourself from Air Canada?

It's a move away from Air Canada in the sense that members can earn and use miles in many other places, but Air Canada and the Star Alliance partners remain the only airline that supply us with miles.

What do you say to those people who are quickly trying to use their miles for fear of losing them?

There's no need for concern. There are only one or two examples in the world of frequent flyer programs that closed down. We signed on American Express last year. They wouldn't risk the kind of devaluation there was any chance of that not working out. But take the worst case scenario. Say Air Canada



liquidated. In three other liquidations, TWA, Canadian Airlines and Sonnet, the points were kept whole. If you think about it, what does an airline have other than its frequent flyer? I have more than 180,000 miles and I'm confident they're safe.

Is switching miles for flights the best value?

The points have a perceived value of roughly three cents a mile. On rail roads that's about one cent or one cent a mile. But it offers a chance to spend credit with something you wouldn't normally buy.

What's been done to address customer concerns over a lack of airline seats?

We buy 1.4 million trip awards. Last year, per order eight per cent of all Air Canada seats were used on Aeroplan flights. That's the highest rate of any airline in North America. There isn't a frequent flyer program in the

world that gives you a limited supply. We've increased our number of awards to the 18 to 15 per cent, which is higher than any other elite. But even that extra percentage you have to pay more miles—between 35 to 50 per cent more. However, if you want to travel per week on Aeroplan, you usually can now. You wouldn't have been able to before.

How many people do you expect to take advantage of the retail rewards?

We don't expect the new retail rewards to make up more than 20 per cent of the total, even two or three years from now.

What's the biggest obstacle left to overcome?

Perception. If people fly back a redemption now every two years, they only remember the experience they had two years ago. That will only change when they fly us again and see what we've done to fix things.



Photo Essay | BY CHRISTOPHER GRADOWSKI

BACK TO THE NEST

Street-working children in the Afghan capital of Kabul have a safe place to go

STREET-WORKING CHILDREN are one of the realities of post-war Afghanistan. Estimated to number some 150,000 in Kabul, some times missing one or both parents, they are forced to peddle, work at low-paying menial jobs, and scrounge for basic necessities. Most have little or no education, but *Audhara*, an Afghan non-governmental organization founded in 1995, is trying to change that. Working with *Terre des hommes*, a Geneva-based group devoted to aiding children around the world, it runs a half dozen drop-in centers in Kabul, helping about 1,600 boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 16. *Audhara*, which means "nest" in Pashto, provides classes in reading, math and calligraphy, as well as lessons about different types of land mines and other unexploded ammunition. It also gives street children one simple meal a day.

Orama has provided some help. For one thing, the Canadian International Development Agency financed staff training. But *Audhara* is by no means a regular school, kids attend classes when they can. Volunteers from other countries sometimes help out with new subjects. Camilla Barry, a San Francisco-area teacher, recently taught a physics lesson by having the kids balance cardboard burners on their noses. And Nick Papp, a circus arts teacher from London, England, gave a workshop on juggling, clowning and other circus skills. For impoverished children who have little time for fun, it provided a chance to play. **F**





AN ADDICT'S CONFESSION

I was beyond helping myself. Thank goodness some friends stepped in.

ELVEN YEARS AGO, when I was friskily clean and sober, a friend invited me to the "Courage to Come Back Awards" in Toronto. The organizers of the annual event, which celebrates people who have come back from mental illness, had added a new category that year, addictions. But what the winner was announced, the man seated beside me recalled Jesus Christ, now they're giving out prizes for being a goddamn drug addict?

I decided that it was perhaps the wrong time to tell him that addiction is an illness and not a character flaw, that the American Medical Association classified addiction as an

more popularizer, alcoholism, is an illness back in 1956, and that the Canadian Medical Association followed suit in 1974. But downing numbers of people still believe, drug down, that addiction is a badge of shame. After all, when friends cannot stop giving chemotherapy to their bodies, we wonder: Why are they so weak? Where is their willpower? I mean, they're about to lose their job, their mate, their house—oh my God, now they're in jail, in the psych ward, in the morgue.

I was hooked in that direction myself. In 1990, after two years of persistent cocaine use, I had lost any business, my house, arguably my only respect. I would do incredibly dangerous things, like taking cocaine before going on a long run, introducing myself to the north to better health. I would never after each all-night binges that I would never use drugs again. And I would fail. I couldn't understand—I have never willpower, so why couldn't I not stop? I was desperate to use, but I was also desperate to stop. And I was alone at night being able to control my actions drove me to even greater use, which made me more desperate, which... well, that's the cycle of addiction unfolded.

I've never met a happy cocaine addict. Every addict is, by definition, running away from a thousand different kinds of pain, and using drugs or booze to make the pain disappear, which only makes it worse. At age 40, I hardly knew what a feeling was, but I was terrified one would sweep me away forever. I only stopped using cocaine because some friends convinced me, nagging me to the Tillamook Treatment Center in Astoria. If those friends hadn't been there, I wouldn't be here.

Because of all the shame surrounding the disease, addiction is one of the last great afflictions to be dragged out of the closet. But like so many things in life, just talking about it can take away its hold over you. So what is an addict? (I use "addict" and "alcoholic" interchangeably, since they're just different forms of the same disease.) Someone who ingests chemicals to repeat a harmful effect. I know people who take cocaine every Saturday night, but when they've had enough, they just stop. On the other hand, I know a woman who doesn't drink alcohol for 364 days a year, but who gets blindingly drunk every New Year's Eve and ends up in the hospital with her stomach being pumped. She is an addict. What?

I'VE never met a happy cocaine addict. An addict is, by definition, running away from a thousand different kinds of pain.

Cocaine is not how much you use, but how much you hurt yourself and others. Why do these definitions matter? Because virtually all addicts will claim they're not addicts. In fact, besides the actual exhibiting, a primary symptom of addiction is not erratic behavior—no red eyes, or shaky hands—its denial of the illness. There of the commonest defenses "I'm not hurting anybody," "I can stop anytime," and "It makes me feel powerful, happy, relaxed, and artistic, addictive!"

The reality is, addiction hurts everybody, addicts can't stop any time, and you actually

feel weak, sedated and stupid. But denial is an incredibly hard thing to break through. Certainly for the addict. And often for his or her family, who frequently have been so affected by the addict living in their home that they're likely to be the last people able to help. That's why meetings of Narcotics Anonymous and Alcoholics Anonymous and other 12-step programs begin with the much-parodied phrase "My name's Bob and I'm an addict." Because if we don't keep saying that right off the top, it's easy to keep denying it.

There's no known cure for addiction, and what makes it hold so strong on us is that it's physical, mental and spiritual disease rolled into one. I found that smoking two grams of cocaine, then drinking two bottles of wine to come down from the cocaine, was actually *releasing* my body. But I was beyond caring. I found that cocaine made me paranoid. Everyone was cheating after me, which is why I would tape my windows shut with garbage bags and duct tape to shut out both people and the light. In the beginning, cocaine brought me many new friends and made me terribly lonely, but in the end, it lost me nearly all my old friends and made me terribly lonely. In fact, nearly all addicts are alone—they push everyone away to be with their drug. That's what makes about addiction being spiritual disease. It can cut you off from everyone and everything you from any sense of belonging.

Addiction can only be halted by seeing another addict's feelings and how our misery. Without that connection, the addiction will continue to unfold. Until death. Because addiction is also a fatal disease.

So how can you help someone—maybe yourself—who's addicted? Two words: *Ask Now*. And be prepared for the addict to show up a thousand reasons why getting your help isn't possible. They're busy, summer's here, if they want more treatment, they'll do less than job.

The reality is, whatever you put ahead of getting sober, you will lose, especially the



things you love most. If the addict says, "I can't get help because of my work," assure him he will soon be out of work. If the addict says, "I can't leave my children," remind him his children will leave him—or the state will take them.

There are a few ways addicts can get better. One is AA or NA, these grand oldies of the 12-step movement have helped literally millions of people get clean and sober. Just dial 411 and ask for the office in your city or town. Call and find out when there's a meeting. Take your friend there. Drug him there. It doesn't matter if he's

will drinking or using, just get him there. The next way is the modification programs offered by some hospitals. Such programs are attended mostly for doctors, people capable of cutting down on their own. I have no problem with these programs—I just don't know any addicts who could stop on their own.

The third route back to treatment. This is for addicts who may have tried AA or a modification program. It's a tough love kind of thing where you have to forcibly take the addict away to a treatment center for a month or more, sometimes against his will. This

takes skill, guts and professional help. Still, when someone is so far gone, as I was, that he can no longer act for himself, someone else has to step in.

Only by taking action—not intending to take action, not just of intervening, or intervening once and when your loved one relapses, giving up and not taking action again—will the suffering stop and the healing begin.

There is, I'm afraid, no other way.

Bob Ramsay is a Toronto communications coordinator.

LAST GASP FOR GLORY

It's an all-out battle for seats in Canada's top-rated, Athens-bound boats, KEN MACQUEEN reports

THAT WORD, your chance for better things. It's the word that's been used to describe the word-chopped winter of Victoria's Elk Lake, powered by a further-lagged member of the Canadian men's rowing team. He's sharing his displeasure at being cut off by a competitor during an informal training race among near two team boats. There are, this chilly spring morning, some 100 days until the Aug. 13 opening of the 2004

Summer Games in Athens, and much is at stake. For these guys, there are no informal races.

Rowing is a brutal business, and during Olympic years the stakes rise exponentially. Simply put, there are more people than boats, which sets a string of tragic proportions. After years of training together as one—and few sports demand such fluid unity of purpose—team mates are also competitors for a place under the Greek, and a shot at a gold medal.

About 100 men rowed in Canada's first Olympics speed trials a year ago. That number was selectively pared back at competition emulated. There are four men's boats qualified for the Olympics: sprint, a light weight five, a heavyweight four and an eight. That's 35—39 with coxswain Brian Price who steers and has the pace of the eight into boat—leaving a number of athletes who say their Olympic dreams going under. The eight and the heavyweight four especially—both requiring world champions—are among Canada's best hopes for medals in Greece. In London, Ont., where most women rowers train, there's a similar struggle for the last of 12 spots among three Olympic boats. "Your whole life is a selection process," says rower Kevin Light, one of the last to qualify for the 2000 Summer Games in Sydney. "It may seem brutal but there's no other way." Today in one of the hardest workout months of the year, he's near coxswain to earn a place in the glimmer event, the



Deviest results: The eight sprint is the team to beat at the Olympic regatta

men's eight. "You could probably still win tomorrow, there were a few boats of yelling," Light says.

"That's what's going to happen to athletes who want to win."

Rowers aren't alone in facing the heat. A recent performance in Sydney caused the Canadian Olympic Committee to hike its qualifying criteria in all sports. Only athletes at teams ranked 12th or better in the world—up from 16th—go to Athens, one of the toughest selection standards of any nation at the Games. The move has dented the athletic community. Critics say it shuts out promising young athletes and developing sport programs. Others welcome the committee's shift to its attitude. "They're paying the bills, they want performance," says Jeff Fowler, a national team

coach who worked in the veteran-rich-all Australian team system before returning to B.C. "It's not for you to just go and enjoy yourself."

There'll be no overnight on the three boats—the men's heavyweight eight, four and pair—coached by Mike Spinkley, a coach veteran of national rowing teams in Canada, the U.S. and his native Britain. It was Spinkley who led the Canadian men's eight to gold at the 1992 Summer Games in Barcelona, and who coached Silken Laumann to medals in two Olympics. He likes to win, not to foster Canadian tendencies of inclusiveness and fair play. "I think we should make the rules for people who deserve success," he says. "They're the people we should be fair to, and not the middle-of-the-road people who complain because they haven't had a fair chance to go on a team."

At first impression, Spinkley, with his fringe of white hair and his soft-spoken demeanor, seems almost grandfatherly—if your grip has a ruthless reach. He sends the team on a timed pre-breakfast run around the lake, then relaxes in the sun, supervised by the recent injury outbreak on the water. "You've come to at a very intensive period," he says. Such "breaks" he happily reports, is the product of work-to-intensity they actually alter brain and body chemistry. "At the time of your people are trying for the pleasure of the team and, yes, they become more competitive because they're aware that I'm watching," Spinkley had just shuffled the team to their next on a June World Cup race in Europe. He sent the new rowers in the eight and rowed two disappointed members of that boat—David Calder and Kyle Hamman—into the pair event. His instincts would prove correct: all three boats won medals in recent European regatta against competitors they'll meet in Athens.

Among those promoted to the eight is Darren Barber. At 35 he's the oldest member, the oldest in a team of heavyweight



He won Olympic gold 12 years ago in the eight under Spinkley, left the sport after the 1996 Games to earn a medical degree in Ireland, then returned to Victoria last fall for an impossible comeback. He showed his way into the program for a chance to work again with Spinkley—a coach who'll have no competition about dropping him if necessary. "I know full well my seat's not secure," Barber says. "People are pressing me to perform every day to the highest quality. Otherwise, I'll get bumped and I'll be replaced. As simple as that." Spinkley reserves the right to juggle his crew until the national team is announced July 12. "The longer we leave selection, the stronger the team will be. We give opportunity for other people to catch up," he says in the rowers' den, dropping and picking up from their row.

By late afternoon they have endured a second grueling training session on the water, a workout in the weight room, and are finishing a long, hot day with their engines, those torn-down rowing machines found in coxswain's cupboards. The scene is surreal: 30 men, pulling over 500, seated on machines lined in rows in a covered outdoor plaza near Victoria's George wayway. Many have shed their shirts, their muscular tones bled in sweat. An appreciative female audience, in coxswain's cupboards, watches from the shadows of a nearby basketball track. "We do this every Tuesday and Friday afternoon," Spinkley says with a hint of smirk. "The hair always is always full."

For the day's last act the men join their engines against the coaches supporting

the place roof. They abandon all concepts of safety and for one wild minute each row five-out, their machines facing against the pillars. They shove exhausted as their all-important cry comes in a round—the measure of the average each expended. It's a number that, in some small way, may determine who goes to Athens.

A few men, Barber among them, are unhappy with their scores. They reserve the energy for another go, and a remarkable thing happens. Some of their teammates, their competitors, stay behind—to brace the machines with their feet, to count down the time, to shout encouragement. It's what good crews do, Barber reflects later, they compete, and they pull together. "It's a funny relationship," he says, "it's 11/11" ☐

Proving it back, Andrew Winkler, left, and Joe Winkler, right, work out on Elk Lake

A KING FOR ALL SEASONS

A new film presents a King Arthur like no other, but still tells the old story of one brief, shining moment



Knightsley plays Guinevere as a warrior babe, not a queen on a pedestal

THE SWORD in the stone and the Holy Grail. The Kingdom of the Round Table and the glimmering court of Camelot, brought to us by sword, lance and civil war, is back almost nine centuries since medieval writers began to craft the What's next: chivalry, secular myth, and trappings of King Arthur are now deeply embedded in our collective DNA. But in the very different Guinevere—a very warrior queen—in Jerry Bruckheimer's new film *King Arthur*, the chivalrous and tragic king of medieval romance is no longer the only Arthur. The story in Sir Thomas Malory's 15th-century masterpiece, *Le Morte d'Arthur*, and Tennyson's Victorian elegy, *The Idylls of the King*, is just one version of an ever-evolving myth. There's the 1960 Broadway musical, *Camelot*, which lent its name to the 1,000 days of John F. Kennedy's presidency, and even a British art parody in Monty Python and the Holy Grail (1975).

For more than a century, meanwhile, scholars seeking the Arthur of history have peered into the darkest of Dark Ages—5th and sixth century Britain—for traces of a native war chief who rallied his people for a brief while against Saxon invaders. That Arthur has appeared his own fictional offspring, awestruck like Canadian writer Jack Whyte's best-selling *A Dream of Eagles* series, as well as the Celtic's Hollywood bloodbathers—all of them heavy on the heavy lightning, light on the magic and fantasy. But all the Arthur variations embrace the same chord as his, because the theme is always the same: what Camelot called "one brief, shining moment," a time when justice and mercy ruled, followed by the decline of high ideals through human failing. Each one—with the possible exception of the Python spoof—purports to be true. And so they are, in the sense of being true to the beliefs and ideals of their own times.

Not that much of a story to extract from Dark Age Britain. There are scraps of history in the old manuscripts to great warriors over the centuries, and their archaeological evidence of a government long held to the Roman tradition. It's barely enough to keep alive a sword-dwelling nobility based on magic; a story must have a factual basis. The myth itself appears almost fully formed in 1136, in an anonymously influenced chronicle called *The History of the Kings of Britain*. The author,

a cleric named Geoffrey of Monmouth, was probably born in Wales, and one of his parents may have been Breton. Certainly he had access to a whole body of Arthurian tradition current in Brittany, brought there by the Celtic refugees who saved "Little Britain" out of the northwest of France.

Geoffrey's medieval reading of his people's folktales introduced many of the essential Arthurian characters and motifs from Guinevere to Merlin. It became a contemporary best seller, with 200 manuscript copies still extant, and a prime factor in the contemporary Arthurmania that soon swept Western Europe. His stories and their Breton sources were translated into all the major languages and even many minor ones, including Hebrew and Icelandic. The oral material inspired original works, some of which, notably Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and the writings of Chretien de Troyes—who introduced courtly love, Lancelot and the Holy Grail to the main-stream heights of Western art.

Around 1470 Sir Thomas Malory gathered almost the whole of the legend into his monumental *History of Arthur*. The book is in one splendid attempt to reduce Arthur for the last of his birth and a colorful hero for a lost age of chivalry—not just Arthur's, but Malory's own, then crumbling in the face of peasant infantry and early artillery. Malory himself is elusive, a very well-read (on English and French) figure who describes himself in his work as a "knights prisoner." No fewer than four men of that name and time have been suggested as possible authors. For most of the 20th century the leading candidate was Sir Thomas Malory of Newbold Revel, who was frequently cited in Lancelot's Newgate Prison—across the road from the earliest library in the City of London—on charges ranging from rape to attempted murder. Although there's no logical reason why a criminal could be a great writer—Ezra Pound, after all, was a felon—such is the power of the Arthurian myth that scholars have never ceased looking for a more Galahad-like author.

Le Morte d'Arthur was another success story, giving an enduring English context to Camelot's long last glory. Almost 400 years later, his lady themes and superb description of the tragic fall of Camelot were taken up by Britain's poet laureate, Alfred Tennyson. *The Idylls of the King* (1859) is a somber meditation on the civil-war, an-



The chthonic and tragic king has lately been eclipsed by the Dark Ages war chief

perial—burden and the character flaws that inevitably undermine all human hopes. It was perfectly suited to the duty-conscious Victorians era, and like all things Victorian was immediately mocked through much of the last century ("Alfred, Lord Blesking Tennyson" was always one of Monty Python's favorite targets).

The Arthurian fantasy has also shifted from the personal to the political, from the romantic king's tragic fate to the quasi-historical figure's military struggles. Whatever the genre or medium, that's recent a pretty rapid drop in aesthetic achievement.

MODERN versions of the story of Arthur, Lancelot and Guinevere still derive their power from the older myth

Stilled and careful writers such as Jack Whyte have nonetheless used the dusty fables to craft film rage and plausible historical thrillers. Ironically, modern culture's adoration still derives their power from the older myth. Authors would not be drawn to their story—an obscure lost cause, long ago and far away—nor would readers much care, if the characters were not Arthur, Lancelot and Guinevere.

Presumably, Bruckheimer is relying on that afterglow effect for *King Arthur*, starring Clive Owen as the title role. The film anchors itself in the *Red of Jesus* Arthurian epics that a Roman general named Lucius Artorius Castus was named in Hadrian's Wall in the fourth of Roman Britain around 400 CE. But even these scholars, who were thrilled to find someone—a post-nuclear Arthur—had the backbone, curbed their enthusiasm with the knowledge that the bulk of tradition puts the king

50 to 150 years later and far to the south, in parts of Britain actually ruled by Saxons. Underneath, Bruckheimer has the Saxons attack across Hadrian's Wall, which is rather like the invading Huns in Spain. But geographical inaccuracy is the least of Bruckheimer's shortcomings to the evolving Arthurian canon. In accord with modern fantasy's more embrace of female empowerment, Stern Knightley's scarcely bid Guinevere is no "lilting queen." If queen on a pedestal, but a warrior babe who gladly put an arrow through any of Malory's love sick knights. A Guinevere, and an Arthur myth, for our times, if not for the ages.

Near the end of his great work, Malory records the words carved on the tomb of his hero, who legend said was not truly dead but only sleeping until he was needed again: *Here lies Arthur, the once and future king*. The first part was a deeply held belief, the second a pious hope. Moderns are more inclined to the opposite: we may as well believe the real Arthur ever lived, but we can't be sure the mythic king will never die.



THE KINDNESS OF STRANGERS

My purse was gone. Passport. Credit cards. Priceless film. But then...

"DO YOU have my purse?"

"No," my boyfriend asked me. He opened the over-the-shoulder travel pouch, which we had affectionately dubbed the mummy bag, but he was certainly not carrying my purse, nor in a British pub where most were wearing the stained rugby shirts. "No purse."

And that's when I knew I had been, as the Brits say, burgled.

We'd made it through two weeks of touring, an endless run of plane, bus and tube rides and heightened fears of terrorist attacks in Europe. We'd dodged cars and bombs flying

like bullets through the streets of London. We'd even managed to escape Windsor Square without the famous pigeons stinging us for being Jewish.

But our luck had run out. On the night before we were scheduled to fly back to Toronto, someone had stealthily did my purse from my side as I sat on a rumpled wooden bench in a Hampstead pub enjoying one last pint.

Gone were my credit cards and all forms of identification, including—worst of all—my passport. Considering that

there's a thriving black market for Canadian passports, I decided I had made off with a fine haul indeed. Unrecoverable, however precious, was a roll of film, full of snapshots of our sunny day in Oxford.

In a panic, my boyfriend and I increased our pace through the pub. He rifled through rubbish bins while I checked every stall in the bar, but it was no use. The purse was gone. My heart grew sick, and then I started to cry. Not uncontrollably, but heart tears wet my cheeks as I went about the urgent business of cancelling credit cards and notifying the Canadian consulate of my stolen passport.

Even though pickpockets are as common as black cats in London, I'd never been one. What a possibility to lose everything so quickly? Could it really happen to me?

Of course. Ironically, the purse snatching made me feel like less of a tourist. No more velvet ropes, no paintings behind glass, no lifting more of a neat panic leading me through

hallowed halls of history. Now, instead, I was a tiny thread in the living tapestry of London. After all, I had been robbed at the 19-month inn, reputed to be the birthplace of legendary highwayman Dick Turpin. The scene of the crime made this London theft painfully authentic.

Our next stop was the local police station, humbly lit by fluorescent bulbs and blank computer screens. Beyond the bulletproof glass that separated us, the bobbin looked pale, pleasant enough, perhaps a little bored.



as they filled out the police report. This was obviously a familiar routine for them, as unfortunate event, yes, but also mundane. Maybe that's why what happened next still seems so unbelievable.

An officer emerged from the hall, asked my name and informed me that my bag had been found—work my passport safely inside. I soon learned that after a Londoner named Ben Jones had left a dinner party in Hampstead Heath, he discovered a discarded purse at the side of the road. Having recently been burgled himself, he picked it up and immediately telephoned police.

He even called my mother in Ottawa, whose number I kept in my wallet in case of emergency, in an attempt to track down the purse owner. She told him where we were staying in London and he swiftly sent my bag to me by rail.

My British change was gone (about \$3 worth), along with a Canadian \$10 bill. But along with my passport, my credit, health and social insurance cards, driver's licence, and even this precious roll of film were all still there.

What had I if Mr. Jones (whom I now consider London's true Big Ben) had waited all morning to call the police, or if he had left his dinner party half an hour earlier, what a different ending my story might have. Thanks to this stranger, I could return home unscathed, my first hours in Britain marked by joy and gratitude.

Next morning, as we hopped aboard the express train to Heathrow Airport, I had a renewed appreciation for an old cliché, and how it's especially true for travellers: meeting is everything. It takes a great deal of planning and effort to get around in foreign places with out someone, or something, getting lost. And since 2001, new fears have challenged the notion that a dependable order will keep us moving in the right

direction. But whether straining just outside the front door or halfway around the world, most of us still believe that—for the most part—things will go according to plan. And if we're lucky, the goodwill of others will make our road less bumpy.

There will be, we tell ourselves, no exotic detours on the ride this day. The plane will stay in course. In the face of such catastrophes, my stolen purse moment feels—while the lead-haired concern of a stranger from London remains all the more.

SONJA COOPER lives in St. Catharines, Ont. To comment: sonjacooper@mac.com

THE CHANGING FACE OF MUSIC

By Andrew Ross, Toronto



For music companies, 1999 was an annus horribilis. That was the year that the Napster file-sharing service began, making it easy for people to swap digital music across the Internet.

Through court action, the Recording Industry Association of America shut down the original Napster. But music-lovers who want to get music over the Internet now have legal alternatives.

Last year, Apple Computer opened the iTunes Music Store, which sold 70 million tracks in its first year of operation. Although iTunes is not yet available in Canada, and no launch date has been announced, it now offers more than 700,000 songs, most of them at 99 cents (U.S.) each. They can be played on a computer (either PC or Mac), transferred to Apple's iPod digital music player or burned onto CDs.

Providing Apple fans living in Canada with a legal version of Apple's iTunes has been a New South Wales software developer's dream. Now, Napster has made its most-downloaded version in the U.S. legal over and over after more than 200,000 tracks. "We've only focused on licensing in the U.S. market until now," says Larry Kane, Napster's vice-president for worldwide business development. "Napster will roll out a Canadian version in the Canadian market."

Napster offers free trial music to get more. You can listen to 30 free songs a day and download 1,000 songs a month. Napster also offers a premium service that lets you make unlimited radio stations and download an unlimited number of songs for 1,000 US per month. But those files will play only if you keep your subscription current.

When it arrives, Napster will find some artists' deal companies in Canada. Last November Toronto-based Montreal Media launched a music-distribution service called Puretracks, and the Montreal web site now offers songs. In addition, Napster is offering sales. Puretracks is also a legal music-distribution service for companies, including the U.S. Canada Partnership, Sony of Canada, and the U.S. TV Group.

Currently, Puretracks and its partner sites have 450,000 songs available for download, priced at 99 cents to \$1.99 per track, or \$9.99 to \$19.99 per album. "The selection is what you have what you find in most commercial stores," says Vincent, Napster's chief of Puretracks. "We have the best selection of music available in Canada."

Users can download songs to portable players and burn CDs. With most titles from Puretracks, users can listen to them for free.

Meanwhile, Puretracks' parent company, also operating a music-subsidiary service, has begun to offer a service to users as well as a large library of songs. Like radio music files are "streamed" over the Internet to your computer. But unlike radio, you can choose the genre and artists you prefer. The service also suggests music similar to your taste of preferences, suggesting your musical tastes. If you don't like a particular song, you can skip it and listen to the next one, just as you would with a CD.

With the new download and subscription services, Napster's complementary "subscription service" is similar to the music world with an element of surprise," he says. "You can't download a 100,000-song library, or you can't keep it, but you have to help them build it and listen."

Other music-subsidiary services include MusicMatch, which will roll out its U.S. version and iTunes, the music download site's parent. U.S. MusicMatch's new version will be built on a part of the U.S. version of the U.S. version of the service. When it begins operations, this version is:

U.S. MusicMatch has a free web site to support its Internet music service with 100 pre-programmed stations. U.S. MusicMatch Plus, which costs only \$1.99 per year, offers more than 100 pre-programmed radio stations with music, and the ability to make customized stations based on your favorite artists and your mood.

"Music is becoming purely digital music," says David Goldring, vice-president of general manager of U.S. MusicMatch's new division. "It will be a new digital service, supported by our well-proven digital technology."



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Film | 10 reasons to see *Spider-Man 2*

1. It's one of those rare sequels that's more satisfying than the original. The first movie had to spin the premise; the second gets on with it.
2. It's another mature love story—especially now that Kirsten Dunst's character, formerly a distressed damsel, gets fully thrown into Spidey's web.
3. It's an exhilarating action movie, in which agility trumps violence.
4. Stretches of likable, realistic drama make you forget you're watching a cartoon.
5. It tays with the metaphor of a young man facing a crisis in sexual confidence—Tobey Maguire's Peter Parker gets freaked out when that sticky stuff stops shooting out of his body the way it's supposed to—so you can take the kids without embarrassment.
6. The cobra-like arms of Alfred Molina's tentacleclad villain are some of the most exquisitely sculpted mechanical effects since the gyroscopical look in David Cronenberg's *Dead Ringers*.
7. When the camera moves in for a tight shot, Maguire's face gets more emotional depth than all those famous close-ups of *Liquid Moon* in *The Lord of the Rings*—whose eyes just looked really, really blue.
8. It's a superhero who talks about his costume, how "it gets kind of itchy" and "rides up the crotch."
9. It's likely to be the summer's biggest blockbuster, but you don't walk out feeling like the summer's biggest sucker.
10. The hero has a more subtle, less cartoon-like sense of morality than George W. Bush, who could learn from Spidey's slogan: "With great power comes great responsibility."

BRIAN J. JOHNSON



Music | Look into Ru\$ha's eyes, I beg

As a veteran 38 years in the music business, Ru\$ha recently released *Feedback*—a collection of covers. A bonus move from the legends of Canuck who made a career out of looking forward and driving into some pretty hairy roads, both through the band's back catalogue and (it's clear) that it wasn't called prog rock for nothing. Below are a few examples.

JIM HAMMILL

5. The Most Beautiful Girl in the World / I Wanna Dance with Somebody (Who Loves Me)

One thing to deliver / In the freedom of music / And different places / And endless possibilities / Shout the loudest / Of integrity

There's something really / Good about it / That's not just a feeling / It's

Living on a lighted stage / Approaches the world / For those who love and feel / In touch with some reality / Beyond the glitzy stage

5.6. I Wanna Dance with Somebody (Who Loves Me)

Any escape might help to smooth / The constructive truth / And the secrets have us closer to each other / The restless dreams of youth

FORBES NAMED *Rolling Stone* the world's most powerful celebrity—thanks mainly to The Muslim of the Christ

Christopher Dewdney Takes on the night

Governor General's Award winner Christopher Dewdney—the Toronto-based author of the now-notorious book, *Age of Consent with the Night-owl*—shares his musings on the dark experiences.

1. **CHANGING THE SUBJECT** by Neil. "My dad and I had just sat down to sleep in his old oak bed when we heard a thump and a creak. Something big had hit the bed. There was one last alternative

of flying squirrels. They were gliding in and using the front legs to slide. It was momentary."

2. **SWIMMING IN VALENCIA, CALIF., IN 2004**. "My daughter and I saw green sparks and a writer, I thought I was in luck when but then realized it was a phosporic cocktail machine. It was intended to drink your hand in the water and brain fry through the sea."

3. **SPENDING THE NIGHTS IN LIGHTS FROM CHAPMAN, CALIF., IN 2006**. "It seemed forever to borrow and looked like an electronic light show. It was like being inside a new tube."



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Amanda Walsh finishes John Intini's sentences

Fig to MobyMusic and the choices are pretty good you'll see **Ananda Walsh** building court. The witty 22-year-old hosts a handful of the network's programs, including her main gig hosting **McQueenDance**—a live record show for the teenybopper crowd. Walsh is also trying to break big into acting, and dabbles in improv comedy. The *Fig*, *Que*, *Nave* recently finished *McQueen's* Assistant Editor *McQueen's* services.

I NEVER LEAVE HOME WITHOUT **Exa**
max. I need to snack constantly or else
I become a monster.

MY MOST EXTREMELY LAME PURCHASE
was a light yellow 1980s-style prom dress that I bought for no reason. I had to find reasons to wear it, like to go

THE FIRST TIME I METED THE SOCK I could sense his meanness, but he turned out to be quite a gentleman. IF I WAS GOING TO BE A COMMITMENT ON BECOMING IT'D LIKE TO BE TRANSFORMED INTO anyone who doesn't aid in their vendors. I have a lot of spirit when I dance—even though I'm not that skilled or flexible.

MY REQUESTED BEING so that I that way have a lot. I fell on a first date and once fell on the street after getting a pedicure. I cut up my legs and scraped the nail polish off my toenails. Strangers had to give me Band-Aids.

FOR MORE "JOHN INTIM'S SENTENCES" VISIT WWW.MADLEANS.COM/PEOPLE

Books | Idiots to the left, fools to the right

[illegible]

Best Sellers

Fiction

8. **RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT** See **Section 100.**

3. **THE VOYAGE OF JACQUES**, by Colman and David Freeman (H)
4. **THE PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN**, Edward Tufte (H) (H)
5. **THE LITTLE CUPBOARD OF LIFE**, Alexander McCall Smith (D)
6. **A TRANSCENDED KINETIC**, Jeremy Isaacs (D)
7. **THE BARBONS**, Michael Sorkin (H)
8. **SHAW'S COAST**, Howard Zinn (D)
9. **THE PEOPLE YOU MET IN HEAVEN**, Mitch Kapor (H)
10. **THE JAZZ AND ROCK CLUB**, David by David (D)
11. **A GOOD MAN, Peter Smith (D)**

Non-fiction

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. WATER, MINERALS, AND GASES , Lynn Straus (2) | 1 |
| 2. WET EYE , Jeff Costello (2) | 1 |
| 3. WINDY AND SILENT , Jane Jacobson (2) | 1 |
| 4. WINDY, YOUR CLASSY UNIVERSITY AND GARDEN , David DeWitt (2) | 1 |
| 5. WINE PLAGUE (WINE?), Tom Meyer (3) | 1 |
| 6. WINDY BARKS WITH THE POPS , Dennis Sullivan (3) | 1 |
| 7. WINE , Tom Meyer (3) | 1 |
| 8. WINDY ATTACK , Bob Weintraub (3) | 1 |
| 9. WINDY AND SILENT , Lynn Straus (3) | 1 |
| 10. WINDY AND SILENT , Lynn Straus (3) | 1 |

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 Journal of Social Issues



Fiction | Bringing the bling to the book biz

■ 2010, *Acacia* based novel and publisher: Vickie Springer (revised) Bala Devi Publications in Columbus, Ohio. Her goal was to publish gritty, urban novels—including her own debut, *Let Us*. But she also always in a semi-utopian tale of budding and drug dealing—that no mainstream publisher would touch. With a year and a half, she'd sold over 200,000 books, including titles like *Diagnosis*, *License* and *A Hunter's Wife*.

Now, "dangdut 18" or "Moby-dang" as it's been dubbed, is one of the fastest growing genres in publishing and every major player from Randaia House to St. Martin's Press is clamouring to get in first—primarily 18- to 25-year-old icons. "They saw our books of the sheikhs and naively wanted to give us the book deals," says Springer, who's teamed with Simon & Schuster's

the most heavily promoted hip-hop hip-dance novelty from Kennedy's Discs about a small-town girl who aspires to become the protégée of a power mogul—recently released by Massimo F. an insider in the hip-hop community, a good a silver-figure save for the boy rights. Speculations that Miami City and Russell were too young to sing.

With the available consumer reports urban, hip-hop did coast well because the books, since it didn't explode in the girl town in a powder-blue Florida

eliminate 12
excess eggs
per batch of
15 adults and
eliminate 100
thousands



VICTOR H. STANLEY

Style | Biff and Buffy get punk'd

The *Spencer's* game, and one of the staple trends associated with the Reagan-omikos era is back. The '80s preppy look, closely fitted leather capri pants, status and country clubs, is rearing its ugly head—and not just at boarding schools or Martha's Vineyard. But these times around, though, it's mostly about fashion, not lifestyle. And Duffy and Gil's old rules no longer apply. Take the changing attitudes toward one preppy staple, the polo shirt. It used to be that the fashion-conscious would only wear Lacoste (the crocodile) or maybe Ermenegildo Zegna (sheep), Fred Perry (tennis), Lilly Pulitzer (beach) and Ralph Lauren (city horse and cart). These days, any old brand will do.



free press had no use for Penguin—maybe that's why it's so cool today.

roomies with young people." Still, even Bedwell is somewhat baffled by how, after a "dormant" period, Penguin has rebounded so vigorously.

According to Veronica Auyang, 25, manager of the trendy Tins and Clothing boutique Over The Rainbow, polo shirts today are being incorporated into a grunge or punk prep look. "If you're into status, you're still going to go for the Lacoste," she says. "But most people want to be more unique." And as for the long-suffering fans of the logo-less polo? "Your day is sure to come."

—SHANELL DUNN

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

▶ I WON'T PAY CENTS of Canadian pay before plan is Canada's "most generous publicly?" They are and name Paul Martin.

Pets | Who's tired of the dog park?

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ERIC CLAPTON'S PRIZED Fender Stratocaster – which he used from 1979 to 2006 and was nicknamed *Blackie* – sold at auction for a record \$1,000,000.

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Canadiana | The cheeses of Warwick

Cheese-fueled mascots Frodo and Thorp want you to try some delicious new stuff. I said

For Prozac and his peers, the passion for choice verges on the obsessive. And in Warwick, the spirit of the famous 19th-century gynecologic writer Jean Acheline Wolff, *Suicide Notes* and "A dinner which ends with outchaise is like a beautiful woman with only one eye."

Abstract

MODEL	PRICE	AMPLIFICATION	SOUND	DETAILS
 ROSE HIFI AUDIO, SACD www.rose.com	\$1,000	Stacked but subtle, just over-amped, loaded like a truck. It would even handle the most demanding recordings. The remote control is perfect for losing at the cash counter.	Proprietary technology gives a large, full-range sound, with more in the volume changes. "It may also add an external antenna to the already perfect sound," says Marshall.	
 GRUNDIG QUADRA 1000 www.grundig.com	\$1,000	Soundwise, sleek, Spectra CD can hit 100 dB of light volume, but all buttons on the remote are the same size, and there are 104 of them. Also, manual CD switching takes time, but you have to do the work yourself.	"The front section is very deep, at least and with enough depth," says Marshall. "You have a lot of control, but you ensure high quality at any volume."	Come with a vertically-slotted CD player, a remote and a spare manual input for MP3 player access.
 TEAC SL-006 \$149.95 www.teac.com	\$149.95	Plastic, scratchy, available in four colors, but exactly like the others. It's a basic, but decent, budget player. However, the CD player's plastic cover looks like it to break, and setting the sleep clock requires lots of fiddling.	"The volume goes way up," says Marshall, "but you can adjust it back and forth with the volume. And any time you stop listening they barely come at all."	Includes a top-loading CD player and an optional jack, remote and earbuds. Also with a remote player for the two remotes, but without an alarm clock.
 NAIMICHI SOUNDSPACE L 5700 www.naimichi.com	\$1,000	Measured similarly to the lot of all units with a push-back for clock design, more of a battery, more of a push-back for control over sound, but finding the clock is the hardest, a lot of fiddling.	Like a 120 bottle of wine, if you can't tell the difference, go for it. A lot more of us will go to sleep with the 120 bottle.	Has an input for an MP3 player and an input that allows you to record from the main to the input, so a recordable CD player without loss of sound quality.
 TIVOLI MODEL THREE \$149.95 www.tivoli.com	\$149.95	Atorally, more, and the clock with actual look and minute hands is the perfect look. There are no buttons, volume and power buttons and touch, a 1/2 inch button, control like you need a different personality. And it's the most beautiful.	Only one speaker, meaning the sound is more "open," it's a lot more open, it's a lot more open, it's a lot more open.	For most general reliability, choose the \$149.95 clockless model. It has no extra features such as a CD player and auto alarm.

TIP: You can't get digital displays on these.

the U.S. Money's Worth and, as is now customary in foreign countries,

154 *BRADY JAMES J. AND J. L. DUFF*

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